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## Israelis Offer Talks On Beirut Departure

By David K. Shipler

**JERUSALEM** — Israel proposed Friday to the United States that Israeli and Lebanese army officers meet to work out the gradual transfer of positions in West Beirut from Israeli to Lebanese control.

The suggestion followed Thursday night's cabinet decision that the Israeli Army would withdraw from Beirut only when the Lebanese Army was ready to move in. Israeli officials predicted that once the Lebanese agreed, the transfer would take at least several days, since the Lebanese Army has shown timidity about entering West Beirut.

The proposal for a meeting was made by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir during talks in Jerusalem with Morris Draper, a U.S. special envoy who has been traveling between Israel and Lebanon since the assassination of Lebanon's president-elect, Bashir Gemayel, on Tuesday.

Mr. Draper declined to answer reporters' questions after he left the talks. But Israeli officials present at the meeting said that the Americans seemed satisfied. Mr. Draper was scheduled to fly to Beirut to present the proposal to Lebanese officials.

**Milder Private Stance**  
[President Ronald Reagan, in his first direct comment on the Israeli move into West Beirut, called on all foreign forces to leave Lebanon and predicted that the Lebanese Army would take over the Israeli positions. The Associated Press reported from White House Station, New Jersey, "We want to see all foreign forces removed and see Lebanon go forward once again in control of its own destiny, and I'm sure that's what Israel wants also," the president told Republicans at a fund-raising reception Friday.]

A well-placed Israeli official said that the U.S. view, as expressed privately, was considerably less demanding of Israel than the public statement Thursday accusing Israel of violating the agreement under which the Palestine Liberation Organization was evacuated from West Beirut.

In public, the United States demanded an immediate Israeli withdrawal from the sector. "We were surprised and angry" at the statement, the official said, since it came only hours after a much more "understanding" U.S. line had been presented by Mr. Draper in private.

[The State Department issued an unusual statement Friday that gave additional details of the dispute with Israel. Reuters reported from Washington. It said that the administration has decided not to seek written pledges on what Israel said were its limited objectives in Beirut. "In light of the many previous oral assurances we had obtained."

[These were given both before and after the agreement on Aug. 20, under which PLO fighters left Beirut, the statement said.]

The Israelis believe firmly that the private position is the authentic one, since Washington is also interested in seeing the creation of a strong, pro-Western Lebanese government.

The Israeli conviction is that the United States made the tough statement because of "Arab pressure," as an official put it.

The administration's public position was cited by some officials as the reason that the Israeli cabinet voted unanimously Thursday



Passers-by try to help the injured after the car of an Israeli functionary was bombed in Paris.

## Paris Blast of Israeli's Car Hurts 45

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**PARIS** — A bomb blew up an Israeli diplomatic car here Friday, critically wounding at least five persons, including an official of the Israeli Embassy's military purchasing annex, and injuring at least 40 children from a nearby school.

The blast shook the Rue Cardinet, in the 17th district, shattering windows and creating panic on the crowded sidewalks and inside the Lycée Carnot. The device exploded near the purchasing annex, police said. The annex is on Boulevard Malesherbes.

The Israeli diplomat was identified only as Amos Man-El, a member of the Israeli purchasing mission in Paris. Embassy officials said he was in critical condition, and that three of his relatives were seriously wounded. Two young passers-by were seriously injured, police said.

Joseph Franceschi, secretary of state for public security, said the police believed that the bomb was placed under the right fender of the car and exploded when the driver turned onto the ignition.

The Israeli Embassy said the bomb was planted in the saddlebags of a motorized bicycle parked near the vehicle. That tactic was used in an explosion outside a synagogue on the Rue Copernic in October

1980, also on a Jewish holiday, when four passers-by were killed and nine injured.

An Israeli Embassy spokesman said the embassy and its annexes, including the military purchasing mission, had closed earlier than usual Friday to allow staff to prepare for celebrations on the eve of the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashana.

Police said it was the same mission that was machine-gunned in March by militants of the outlawed Direct Action extreme leftist group.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy immediately condemned the attack as an attempt to hamper France's peace efforts in the Middle East. The Israeli ambassador, Meir Rosenne, called on Mr. Mauroy to lodge a protest against the attack.

Mr. Rosenne blamed the attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization which, he said, has vowed to "make life unlivable for any Israeli wherever he is."

Witnesses said wounded students were carried away on stretchers after receiving emergency aid on the sidewalk. A police spokesman said most of the injured were treated for cuts and shock.

Police said a telephone caller to a news agency said the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction claimed responsibility for the blast.

## Israelis Mop Up in West Beirut; Christian Forces Seize Palestinians

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**BEIRUT** — Armored Israeli forces crushed the last major Lebanese militia resistance to their occupation of West Beirut on Friday, and Christian Phalangist militiamen entered the Moslem sector of the capital to seize their longtime Palestinian enemies.

Soviet diplomats said that earlier in the week, Israeli troops had seized Soviet Embassy buildings on West Beirut's Corniche Mazraa commercial thoroughfare. An Israeli spokesman in Jerusalem said that Israeli troops had only sought temporary shelter in the compound during a battle.

In Washington, meanwhile, the State Department said the United States protested to Israel over an incident Thursday in which an Israeli officer reportedly had fired at and missed an unarmed U.S. Marine standing guard at the U.S. Embassy in West Beirut. It said the bullet missed by two feet.

There was no immediate comment from Israel, but Larry M. Speakes, the White House deputy press secretary, said Israel apologized, saying the officer had mistaken the Marine for a leftist militiaman.

War correspondents reported Friday that Israeli tanks and troops flushed out members of the Mourabitoun militia, Lebanon's most powerful armed leftist Moslem group, with a three-hour barrage, then searched house-to-house for weapons.

A Mourabitoun communiqué quoted the militia's leader,

Ibrahim Koleilat, as conceding the loss of his stronghold in the Abu Shaker neighborhood after a defense against "overwhelming odds." It said 30 militiamen had been killed since the Israeli advance into West Beirut began Wednesday, and that Mr. Koleilat himself had been wounded in the leg.

Israeli tanks also guarded the Sabra and Chatila Palestinian camps, and automatic weapons fire echoed from inside the camps as armed Phalangist militiamen entered on foot and in jeeps from Christian-controlled East Beirut.

As Israel solidified its grip on West Beirut, its Christian allies in East Beirut split over who would be the next president of Lebanon.

The National Liberal Party announced that its 82-year-old leader, Camille Chamoun, will contest the Phalangist Party nominee, Amin Gemayel, the brother of the assassinated president-elect, Bashir Gemayel, in next week's presidential election.

Unless one of the candidates withdraws, the Lebanese Front coalition of Maronite Christian groups would be certain to collapse, Christian sources said.

**Refugees Return to Tunis**

Reuters quoted the Tunisian news agency TAP on Friday as saying that Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, returned Thursday night to Tunis from Rome, where he had met with Pope John Paul II and President Sandro Pertini of Italy.

PLO officials had said on Mr. Arafat's departure from Rome that he was leaving for Damascus.

Other problems included the fact that modern economic development came to most African colonies only after World War II. The experience was new. In addition, the enervating tropical climate and enormous population growth, stemming partly from remarkable progress in health care, also made development difficult.

On top of this, Africa was hurt by two external factors that it could do nothing about: Oil prices soared at a time when the world recession caused a drop in the prices that Africa was getting for exports such as copper.

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## Bonn Coalition Falls; Schmidt Seeks Vote

By James M. Markham

New York Times Service

**BONN** — The coalition that has governed West Germany for the past 13 years collapsed Friday as the junior Free Democrats pulled their four ministers out of the government, and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in a dramatic speech to parliament, challenged the opposition to agree to hold new elections.

Rebuffing the chancellor's proposal for elections, Helmut Kohl, the leader of the conservative Christian Democrats, vowed instead that his party would put together a new government — evidently with the Free Democrats — and then face the voters. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the leader of the Free Democrats and former foreign minister, made a similar pledge.

Climaxing weeks of open bickering between the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats over economic and foreign policy, the breakup of the coalition left Mr. Schmidt in charge of a minority government and opened a period of uncertainty in West German politics as Mr. Kohl and Mr. Genscher bargained over the cabinet they propose to form.

The end of the coalition came early Friday when, alerted to Mr. Schmidt's plan to address the Bundestag, Mr. Genscher and the three other Free Democrats in the cabinet — Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff, Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl — resigned.

With the four cabinet chairs empty, Mr. Schmidt, in a vigorous address to the Bundestag, blamed Mr. Genscher and the Free Democrats for destroying the coalition and accused his opponents of indulging in "intrigues."

"Because I take my responsibility seriously, I refuse to watch these tactical maneuvers any longer," said Mr. Schmidt, who has been chancellor for eight years. "For us Social Democrats, the reputation and solidity of democracy is more important than tactical party advantages."

To end the country's political impasse, Mr. Schmidt proposed an all-party agreement to dissolve the Bundestag — a difficult procedure under the constitution — through a confidence vote that he would agree not to put forward a candidate of his own in the 21-day waiting period stipulated by the constitution. Mr. Schmidt said, elections could be held at the end of November.

Bitterly taunting the Free Democrats, whose popularity has dropped radically in the past year, Mr. Schmidt said that in new elections they would not be able to campaign with posters showing him and Mr. Genscher as they did in 1980. Riding Mr. Schmidt's coattails, the Free Democrats polled a record 10.6 percent of the vote.

"Now you are going to have to pay the mortgage for your mistakes," he said, turning to the Free Democrats' benches in the Bundestag. "I only hope that you will be good Democrats."

**Wiesbaden Elections**  
Mr. Schmidt accused the Free Democrats of planning to abandon the coalition if they obtained 5 percent of the vote in elections in Hesse Sept. 26, which would guarantee them representation in the parliament in Wiesbaden, the state capital. A poll below 5 percent might have kept them in the government, he suggested.

"But I percent more or 1 percent less in Wiesbaden is no basis for a federal government," declared the chancellor to applause from the Social Democrat benches. "But for 1 percent more, I have al-

ready seen that you are getting ready to blame the breakup of the coalition on the Social Democrats."

By calling for general elections and by mixing scathing words about Mr. Genscher with warm praise for other Free Democrats — Mr. Schmidt appeared to be trying

The coalition's fall leads to one of the strongest rallies in years on the Frankfurt exchange. Page 7.

to confuse his opponents, and he cited a string of Christian Democratic leaders who have also demanded elections as an exit from the country's impasse.

Neither Mr. Kohl nor Mr. Genscher want elections now that could jeopardize their leadership

positions. An aide to Mr. Kohl noted that the Christian Democrats, though favored by most polls, have no interest in elections with Mr. Schmidt still enjoying the advantages of incumbency.

**Kohl's Response**  
In a brief response to Mr. Schmidt, Mr. Kohl observed that "change in a democracy is no intrigue, as you have described it."

"It is a shame, Mr. Chancellor," he continued, "that in your farewell address you allowed your bitterness to overcome you."

It appeared that some days might elapse before the Christian Democrats and their new Free Democratic allies reached agreement on portfolios in a new government.

In his own low-key appearance before the Bundestag, Mr. Gensch-



Chancellor Helmut Schmidt giving his proposal for new elections in the Bundestag.

er attributed the collapse of the coalition to what he described as the Social Democrats' abandonment of their original program with the Free Democrats and the adoption of left-leaning policies.



THATCHER IN TOKYO — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain bowed to the British and Japanese flags Friday during a ceremony after her arrival in Tokyo. Page 2.

## Clergy, in Stern Message to Regime, Warns of Threat to Poland's Future

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Service

**WARSAW** — Warning of possible tragedy, Poland's Roman Catholic bishops sharply criticized the martial law authorities Friday for failing to take adequate steps toward national reconciliation.

A statement issued after a two-day meeting here of the Polish episcopate that included Poland's primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, expressed concern at what was described as "the multiple crises shaking Poland" and the lack of dialogue between the government and the suspended Solidarity trade union.

The bishops condemned the beatings and arrests of Solidarity supporters by riot police during nationwide demonstrations at the end of August.

The statement was one of the most forthright to be issued by Poland's Roman Catholic Church since the imposition of martial law in December. It appeared to reflect the fear of church leaders that special tensions within the country could become unmanageable if the present political stalemate is allowed to continue.

The government spokesmen have ruled out negotiations with interned Solidarity leaders, including Lech Walesa. Instead, the authorities have sought to host a Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in which some lay Catholics have been invited to participate.

The church has allowed the lay-

men to participate in committees for national rebirth on the understanding that they are designed to pave the way for the lifting of martial law. But Friday's episcopate statement makes clear that the bishops do not regard the National Rebirth movement as an adequate substitute for the restoration of independent unions.

The episcopate statement said the bishops were filled with concern for the future of the country and the lack of any significant signs of improvement in the social situation. In a reference to street demonstrations on Aug. 31 that were broken up by riot police, the bishops warned: "The growing tide of violent events could assume a harmful, even tragic direction for the existence of our people and state."

This phrase was interpreted as a reference to an extreme, but plausible scenario for future developments in Poland. According to this scenario, prolonged civil strife could result in a Soviet invasion if the Polish authorities turn out to be incapable of maintaining order with their own internal forces.

So far the riot police, known as ZOMO, have been able to deal with the demonstrations. But after the recent disturbances in which firearms were used to disperse demonstrators on at least two separate occasions, church leaders obviously fear that there could be an escalation of violence on either side.

The bishops' statement said:

"Up until now, proper steps have not been taken despite the fact that the great majority of society expects a agreement and reconciliation and workers want their own independent organizations; trade unions including Solidarity and Rural Solidarity. University students also wait for their own independent organizations."

Turning to the street disturbances, the bishops said they had their duty to defend people who had been beaten, wounded, morally humiliated, deprived of their freedom, or subjected to various sentences and high fines. "The church has recently been criticized by the government for allowing collections of money to assist people convicted of offenses under martial law."

Condemning the use of violence "by either side," the bishops said they had prepared a special memorandum that they were forwarding to government leaders. The contents of the memorandum were not disclosed.

**Solidarity Activist Surrenders**  
Juliusz Czarzy Baginski, a Solidarity activist who had been in hiding since martial law was proclaimed, has surrendered to police, the Associated Press quoted the Polish news agency PAP as reporting Friday.

PAP said Mr. Baginski, a member of the Solidarity leadership in Jelenia Gora, southwestern Poland, reported to local police headquarters and was released "after a talk."

## Development Efforts Failing in Black Africa

By Stanley Meisler

Los Angeles Times Service

**TORONTO** — The dramatic foreign debt crises of such countries as Mexico and Argentina have obscured another persistent economic problem of the Third World — almost complete failure of development in black Africa after two decades of effort.

While most of the world's finance ministers and top bankers fretted over the Third World's foreign debt problems at the annual meeting here last week of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, statistics were quietly published that showed a woeful and frustrating record of development in Africa since the breakup of colonialism there in the 1960s. Economists predicted that the situation might worsen in the 1980s.

Ousmane Seck, finance minister of Senegal, in a little-noted speech, called on "the international community to assist African countries in an effort to arrest this trend, which is intolerable and, in fact, dangerous to the stability of the region."

Speaking on behalf of all African finance ministers, Mr. Seck said Africa needs international agreements to stop the continuing decline in prices for African commodities, a halt in the growing trend of industrialized countries toward barring imports, a new World Bank institution to help Third World countries search for energy supplies and an increase in foreign aid.

According to the annual World Development Report of the World Bank, made public just before the meetings, nine African countries actually showed a decline in gross

national product per capita — a yardstick of a country's economic activity — in the 1960s and 1970s: Chad, Mozambique, Uganda, Niger, Madagascar, Sudan, Ghana, Senegal and Angola. In eight others, the average annual increase in GNP per capita was less than 1 percent: Upper Volta, Zaire, Guinea, Central African Republic, Benin, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Congo.

In short, in more than half of the countries in Africa, the average person found his economic plight either worse or only slightly better than at the time of independence in the 1960s.

In only two African countries, tiny Lesotho and oil-exporting Nigeria, were the growth rates for the past two decades higher than average for the Third World.

**'Mixed Blessing'**  
The World Bank predicted that the 20 poorest countries in Africa — those with a GNP of less than \$410 per person per year — will have an increase in per capita growth during the 1980s of, at best, one tenth of 1 percent a year. At worst, the bank said, these countries would experience a decline of 1 percent a year. For all the other African countries, the bank's forecast was only slightly better.

Even the oil boom in Nigeria was described as "a decidedly mixed blessing" because it has harmed agricultural production. Agricultural production was hurt by the Nigerian civil war of the late 1960s and by the oil discoveries, and the bank said there has been no recovery.

The bank said that oil production hurt ag-

riculture by setting off inflation that made it less profitable to export farm products and cheaper to import foreign foods and by creating an urban boom that drew young Nigerians from the farms to the towns.

Some of the reasons for Africa's economic problems were outlined by the bank in a separate report published a year ago and distributed again at this year's meeting. The report has been widely criticized in Africa because it tends to put a good deal of the responsibility for Africa's troubles on its failure to develop rural areas. Some African officials insist that external factors — high oil prices and low prices for African exports, for example — should be considered more.

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### INSIDE

**A Washington controversy is stirring over the expected appointment as ambassador to Indonesia of a U.S. businessman who officials said has a "close" and "special" relationship to President Suharto of Indonesia.** Page 2.

**Bendix purchased a controlling interest in Martin Marietta after winning a decision by a U.S. appeals court.** Page 7.

**El Salvador's government, with the quiet support of the Reagan administration, has begun an indirect "dialogue" with guerrilla leaders intended to end the civil war.** Page 4.

**President Marcos of the Philippines defended his human rights record against the congressional critics. He denied allegations by Amnesty International of widespread torture, disappearances and other abuses.** Page 3.

**A lame-duck session of the U.S. Congress is expected after the November elections. President Reagan, claiming that stopgap funding for the government is "bad economics and bad management," asked Congress to return to complete work on its regular appropriations bills.** Page 3.

## 'Terrorists' Seized U.S. Atom Plant

Security Team's Raids Exposed Problems at Facilities

By Milton R. Benjamin

Washington Post Service

**WASHINGTON** — Seven counterterrorism experts, using forged credentials, infiltrated the government's Savannah River nuclear weapons plant, seized hostages and succeeded in taking over the control room of a large atomic reactor during a 1980 security test, informed sources said.

The mock raid, which was carried out by a special "threat assessment" team hired by the Department of Energy to test the security at the government's nuclear weapons production facilities, was described to horrified members of Congress at a classified hearing Sept. 11.

If the security experts who penetrated one of the three reactors at the South Carolina facility — where all the plutonium and tritium for U.S. nuclear weapons is produced — had been terrorists intent on sabotage, they could have triggered an accident that might have led to a meltdown, sources said Thursday.

The three large reactors at Savannah River, moreover, were built in the early 1950s, and are not shielded by the domed second-

ary containment structures that surround the nation's commercial nuclear power reactors. It thus would be possible, by circumventing the filtering system, to engineer a huge radioactive release.

The threat assessment teams also found it relatively easy to infiltrate the government's fuel-grade plutonium production reactor at Hanford, Washington, and discovered problems of major concern in the safeguarding of materials at Rocky Flats, Colorado, where parts for nuclear weapons are manufactured, the sources added.

The only weapons production facility to get high grades for security from the counterterrorism consultants was the Pantex Plant outside Amarillo, Texas, where U.S. nuclear weapons are actually assembled.

Senator John Glenn, an Ohio Democrat, last week sent a classified letter to President Ronald Reagan urging him to act immediately to rectify serious problems in security at the nuclear weapons plants.

The senator said Thursday, "the administration obviously has not been taking these major security deficiencies seriously." He said

that the administration, which originally included \$62.8 million for upgrading security at the bomb plants in the fiscal 1983 budget, later eliminated this amount entirely and did not seek any funding for this purpose in the supplemental appropriations bill Congress recently passed over the president's veto.

Sources who attended the Sept. 11 classified congressional briefing said members of the assessment teams described in some detail the manner in which they infiltrated the Savannah River plant.

They gained entry to the 300-square-mile (780-square-kilometer) reservation simply by turning off a public highway that bisects the plant, sources said.

They subsequently passed through checkpoints within the reservation, the sources said, by using forged credentials.

Sources who attended the briefing said one of the major problems in security at all of the government's weapons facilities appeared to be the belief that an attack mounted by terrorists using sophisticated infiltration and commando techniques simply "couldn't happen in America."



## Push Into Beirut Stirs Fears of Deeper Israeli Political Involvement

By David K. Shipler

**JERUSALEM** — When the Israelis entered Lebanon on June 6, the question immediately arose as to how they would eventually manage to get out. Now that they have moved deeply into West Beirut and more deeply into Lebanon's morass of internal factionalism, the question has grown more urgent and more troublesome.

Never before has Israel sought so ambitiously to translate its military power into political might.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Never have the leaders in Jerusalem moved so directly to influence the internal political make-up of a neighboring Arab state. Never before have they taken control of an Arab capital. And never has an Israeli victory in a war seemed so dubious.

Despite Prime Minister Menachem Begin's insistence that Israel desires not one inch of Lebanese territory, despite his pledge to withdraw as and when the Syrians withdraw, there is a growing dread, reflected in the Israeli press and in the private comments of ordinary people, that the best army in the Middle East has stepped into a quagmire, and that the exit will not be easy or early.

### Strong Government Sought

Mr. Begin is a skillful politician in the Israeli arena, and his defense ministry, Ariel Sharon, may be one of the most effective military minds in the world today. But they are novices in the unfamiliar territory of Lebanese politics; they are largely unskilled in the subtleties of political manipulation in the Arab world, as their failures to gain cooperation from the Arabs of the occupied West Bank have shown.

And yet they are determined to see the situation in Lebanon resolved in their interest before they leave.

What they are after is a strong central government that can raise

an army decisive enough to keep its own territory free from Palestinian guerrillas. In Bashir Gemayel, the 34-year-old Christian Phalangist leader who was to assume the presidency on Sept. 23, the Israeli leaders felt they had a man ruthless enough to rule and indebted enough to Israel — for years of clandestine military aid — to sign a peace treaty and provide security guarantees along the Israeli-Lebanese border.

But there was little sensitivity in Jerusalem to the delicate task that Mr. Gemayel faced in building bridges to the Lebanese Moslems, and to his need to put some distance between himself and the Israelis, at least until he had governed for a while.

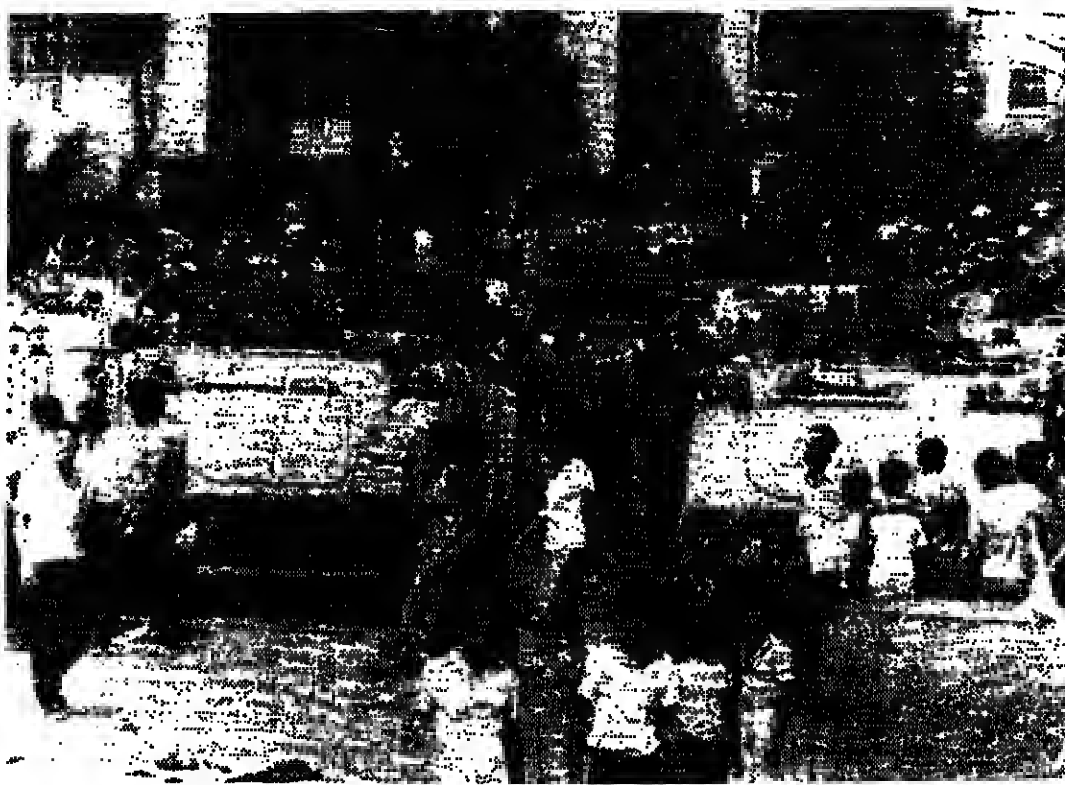
Mr. Begin showed some awareness of this when he said in an interview on Aug. 27 that he was not impatient about a peace treaty. But 10 days later, Mr. Sharon warned bluntly that Lebanon would "certainly be territorially united" only if a Lebanese government signed a treaty with Israel.

Otherwise, he said, a 25-mile (40-kilometer) deep zone from the Israeli border northward would be placed in "a special status." This was taken to mean control by Israel or its surrogate, the Lebanese Major Saad Haddad.

This threat of partition hangs over Lebanon even more ominously after Mr. Gemayel's assassination. There is no indication that the murder, and the fragility of government that it has demonstrated, have induced Israel to lower its ambitions or pare down its objectives.

Mr. Sharon, who would like to be prime minister someday, is understood to be adamant about avoiding any situation that could lead to the kind of anarchy in which the Palestine Liberation Organization could operate again, lest his war be denounced in Israel as a foolhardy adventure without gain.

Consequently, the Israelis are making clear their great stake in a favorable political outcome. Mr.



Residents of West Beirut strolled among tanks carrying soldiers of the Israeli Army, which seized control of the Lebanese capital's Moslem sector in a two-day assault that began Wednesday.

Begin was reported to have explained the army's entry into West Beirut as an effort to put down the Moslem leftists and remaining fighters of the PLO, so they cannot erode the Christians' capacity to name a successor and to form a government.

It is not clear how intimately the Israelis intend to try to influence the Lebanese politicians' deliberations. Some officials in Jerusalem say there will be a hands-off approach.

But the very fact of the Israelis' control of the capital is an influence in itself, for it creates the impression, probably correctly, that a kind of Israeli veto exists, that if a new president hostile to Israel is elected by the parliament, the troops will not leave southern Lebanon and the country will remain divided into Syrian- and Israeli-controlled sectors.

That prospect has stirred profound concern among Israelis themselves. The Tel Aviv newspaper Ha'aretz said Thursday that the army's move "arouses the suspicion that Israel intends to hold onto West Beirut for who knows how long." The paper continued:

"Bitter experience has shown that our military superiority does not by itself neutralize totally opposing forces who are willing to use terror tactics against their opponents. Therefore, it is worthwhile for us to cut short as much as possible our military presence in West Beirut and give over the mantle to the Lebanese Army. For as much as we delay this process, we will expose ourselves to

criticism within the Lebanese community, and we will make it more difficult for the president of Syria to agree to withdraw his forces from Lebanon."

Even the rightist newspaper Ma'ariv, which usually supports the government, said that while the army's entry into West Beirut was justified, it should withdraw quickly.

## Israel Offers Talks on Beirut

(Continued from Page 1)

night to keep the army in West Beirut pending the Lebanese Army's readiness to take over. Several ministers were reportedly distressed that the move into West Beirut was decided upon in a midnight telephone conversation between Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Mr. Sharon, without wider consultation in the cabinet.

But when it came time for the vote, even the dissenters felt they should present a united front. Indeed, there is a widespread perception in government circles that everyone involved — the Leb-

anese government included — is secretly delighted that the Israeli Army moved swiftly into a situation that could have degenerated into anarchy and civil war.

When the PLO withdrew from the city, Mr. Begin and other officials have said, they left behind about 2,000 guerrillas with arms caches ready to reorganize and take advantage of any disorder. In addition, Moslem leftists inherited the PLO's heavy weapons, the Israelis said. Reports from Beirut Friday indicated that the Israelis were assuming control of key headquarters and were disarming the leftists.

## Internal Study Assails UN Spending on Travel

By Iain Guest

**GENEVA** — At a time when it is coming under considerable pressure from member governments to cut costs, the United Nations system is spending \$230 million — 8 percent of its total budget — each year on travel, according to a report just issued here.

The report was written by Miljenko Vukovic, a former Yugoslav diplomat who is one of the 11 members of the Joint Inspection Unit, an autonomous body within the UN system charged with trying to streamline the United Nations' bureaucracy.

The report agrees that travel is, and will continue to be, an integral and important part of UN business. But it is extremely critical of what it terms UN "complacency" in the face of rising costs and the current recession.

"Organizations are paying the increased cost of travel without any significant attempt to change the situation for the better," it says.

### Cost Breakdown

Taking an average of 1980 and 1981, the report finds that the United Nations and its 11 specialized agencies spent \$148.7 million in direct travel costs — \$85.2 million on tickets and \$63.5 million on daily subsistence allowances. Indirect costs, such as staff salaries during missions, came to \$107.3 million.

The report is also highly critical of the way the UN organizations have allowed the firm of Thomas Cook to operate a virtual monopoly since 1955. It recommends that the agencies should open up bids to smaller travel agencies with the eventual aim of establishing an in-house UN travel agency. This, it figures, could save up to \$30 million a year.

The report acknowledges that such an agency would violate the current rules of the International Air Transport Association, which only approves agents that are prepared to promote air travel, as well as simply sell tickets. But, it says, a UN General Assembly resolution might pave the way toward getting this and other IATA restrictions lifted.

Among the other points in the report:

- Officials from the United Nations and its specialized agencies spent a total of 472,800 days on official travel. Delegates to UN meetings accounted for a further 141,800 days. (There are about 46,000 employees in the entire UN system.)

- Tickets bought by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank cost \$47 million — in excess even of the \$37.2 million spent by the United Nations.

- Business totaling \$88.4 million was channeled through travel agents, who charged up to \$13 million in commissions.

- Nine airlines accounted for 70 percent of UN travel between Geneva and New York, representing \$14.4 million worth of business. Swissair alone accounted for 23.6 percent, followed by Air France with 11.6 percent and Pan American with 10.8 percent.

- Where flights exceed nine hours, heads of agencies and assistant secretaries general are allowed to travel first class — and most of them do.

- As a percentage of budget, the most traveling is done by officials in the Universal Postal Union, (14 percent) followed by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (13 percent) and the Geneva-based World Health Organization (10 percent).

- The average length of a mission is 11 days. Cutting this by just one day, the report says, could save up to \$13.6 million.

- Along with the proposal to create an in-house travel agency, the report urges the UN organizations to negotiate directly with airlines for better terms.

## Labor Keeps Seat But Margin Is Cut In Welsh Election

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
**SWANSEA, Wales** — Britain's opposition Labor Party has retained a parliamentary seat in a by-election in the Gower Peninsula, but has lost strength in the former South Wales stronghold.

The Liberal-Social Democrat alliance boosted its national standing by capturing second place with 25 percent of the vote Thursday and pushing the ruling Conservative Party into third place with 23 percent.

The Labor candidate, Gareth Wardell, won 43 percent, or 17,095 votes, defeating Gwynfor Jones of the alliance, with 9,875 votes, and Trevor Lewellyn of the ruling Conservative Party, with 8,690.

It was Labor's second consecutive by-election victory, but its winning margin of 7,220 in Gower, a mixed rural and industrial seat, was down more than 3,000 votes and 10 percentage points from the 1979 general election.

## Bolivia Seen As Set to End Military Rule

United Press International

**LA PAZ** — Bolivia's military regime will end two years of military rule and reconvene the nation's democratically elected congress to form a new constitutional government, sources inside the government said.

Ranking military officers reached the decision at a pre-dawn meeting with President Guido Vil-doso Calderon, a general named to the presidency July 21 amid Bolivia's worst economic crisis, presidential sources said.

A presidential spokesman said General Vidoso and other high-ranking military officials would make an official announcement later Friday on the reconvening of the National Congress.

It was not immediately known when the congress would be reconvened. It was disbanded after a military coup in July 1980 that overthrew the civilian government of interim president Lidia Guzman and installed Gen. Luis Garcia Meza. General Garcia Meza was forced out in August 1981 in favor of General Celso Torrel, whom General Vidoso replaced.

Hernán Siles Zúñiga, the Democratic Popular Union leader who won election to the presidency only weeks before the army seized power, has pledged to return soon from exile in Lima, a radio report said. Supporters said he was ready to govern.

The armed forces have annulled the results of three elections when it became clear the winner would be Mr. Siles Zúñiga. The armed forces have ruled for most of the last 17 years.

The military regime's decision to turn over power came amid severe economic problems and a general strike called Friday to pressure the military to step aside in favor of civilian rule.

The Bolivian Workers Central union said the nationwide strike, which began at midnight, would continue until General Vidoso promised to resign and hand over power to the Democratic Popular Union.

But Labor Minister Julio Villagomez, a colonel speaking for the 2-month-old military regime, went on television to denounce the strike as illegal and warn that public employees who refuse to work Friday will be fired.

By Thursday, most of Bolivia already was paralyzed by strikes hitting the states of Cochabamba, Oruro, Chuquisaca, Potosí and Tarija. La Paz was midway through a 48-hour general strike.

All national and international flights were canceled Thursday, and factories and most public and private offices were closed.

The general strike calls began after General Vidoso announced Tuesday an 18-point emergency economic plan. It included a proposal to give each worker and each dependent a \$18 monthly bonus — which labor leaders denounced as insufficient — and would increase most fuel costs and restrict the exchange of the dollar for the peso.

## Spain Airline Revises List of Crash Victims

By William G. Blair

**NEW YORK** — A list of 56 passengers said to be dead or missing in the crash Monday of a charter jetliner in Malaga, Spain, was issued Wednesday by the Spanish carrier, Spantax Airlines. Thursday, at least seven of those said to be dead or missing were reported to be alive.

The airliner, a DC-10 operated by Spantax, an air charter company, crashed and burned while trying to take off from New York on the final leg of a two-week package tour of Spain. The plane carried 380 passengers and a crew of 13.

An official, who refused to give his name but said he was representing "the highest management" of Spantax, said Thursday by telephone from Palma de Mallorca that five persons on the list were alive.

Confirmation that a husband and wife also named on the list were alive was made in a telephone call to The New York Times from the husband, Benjamin Rosen of Fort Lee, New Jersey. Mr. Rosen and his wife, Yetta, were among the crash survivors who arrived in New York late Monday on a special flight of Iberia Air Lines of Spain.

Asked if he could say who on the list actually was dead, the official in Palma said it was impossible to differentiate between the dead and missing and those who are alive because the names "are changing from one minute to the other. We were under strong pressure to release the list, even knowing that some of the names are unreliable."

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The five persons on the Spantax list said by the official to be still alive are Carlton Macoway, Irene Toledo, A. Toledo, Joud and M. Fernandez. The official was not aware that the Rosenes also were alive.

The official said that the person listed as Carlton Macoway was actually Fernandez Macoway Carlton and that the person listed as A. Toledo was actually Angela Garcia Madrid.

The confusion surrounding the identities of the crash victims was compounded when Ray H. Burson, a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Madrid, said Thursday that two of the 16 names on an official list of confirmed dead, provided earlier Wednesday by the Spanish government, had been changed by the Spanish authorities to missing. The two names were given by Mr. Burson as E. Lujan and Jane F. Parry.

On the Spantax list issued later, which includes the names provided without addresses or nationalities by the Spanish government, the Lujan name is given as Mesias Lujan and the Parry name as Jayne Parry.

In Washington, a State Department press officer said that one of the problems faced by officials at the scene of the crash "is that most of the dead are so badly burned that in many cases positive identification has not yet been possible." As a result, she said, "some people on the airplane's manifest have still not been accounted for." She said that U.S. officials were being extremely cautious about the identities of the crash victims.

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## U.S. Government Seeks to Limit Effects of Its Pipeline Sanctions

By Clyde H. Farnsworth

**WASHINGTON** — The Commerce Department, under pressure from business, is seeking to limit the impact of the trade sanctions that President Ronald Reagan has imposed on companies involved in building the Siberian natural gas pipeline.

"It would not have been appropriate to reach out and capture all the secondary suppliers," one hard-line Commerce Department official said. "You have to stop somewhere."

"The department has been swamped," said another official who asked not to be identified. "Literally hundreds of companies are requesting clarification of their position with the Office of the General Counsel."

### Diplomatic Activity

The Commerce Department's efforts coincide with fresh diplomatic moves to resolve the dispute. Officials here and in Brussels said that Secretary of State George P. Shultz would meet in New York later this month with his counterparts from Britain, France, West Germany and Italy at the start of the new session of the United Nations General Assembly, and that the pipeline dispute would be the major topic.

Even though only four companies have been directly affected by the sanctions, the fortunes of many companies are bound up with those on the sanctions list through joint ventures and supplier relationships.

The sanctions were levied against the four companies for shipping to the Soviet Union compressors built with U.S. technology for use in pumping gas along the 3,700-mile (5,920-kilometer) pipeline now under construction.

The sanctions mean that American oil and gas equipment or technology cannot be shipped to the four companies: John Brown Ltd. of Britain; Dresser France, a subsidiary of Dresser Industries of Dallas; Creusot-Loire of France and Nuovo Pignone of Italy.

Initially, the sanctions barred any U.S. company or any European company using U.S. technology under license from receiving exports of U.S. goods and services if they sold equipment to the Soviet Union for construction of the pipeline. But the Reagan administration later limited the sanctions to exports involving oil and gas.

Since the denial orders were imposed, the Commerce Department has made these decisions:

- It told the Rockwell International Corp. that the regulations did not apply to Rockwell's French subsidiary, Rockwell Valves, even though Rockwell Valves are used in the compressors that Dresser France shipped to the Soviet Union Aug. 26.

- It made a preliminary ruling exempting Walter Kidde, a British subsidiary of Kidde Inc. of Clinton, New Jersey, from sanctions even though it makes firefighting equipment for use at pumping stations along the pipeline.

- It made another preliminary ruling exempting Andrew Antenna, a British subsidiary of the Andrew Corp. of Orland Park, Illinois, from the sanctions even though it provides microwave equipment that is part of the communications complex for the pipeline.

The ripple effects of the sanctions already imposed are beginning to be felt by Dresser, the one U.S. company directly involved. Edward R. Luter, a Dresser senior vice president, reported that the company's French subsidiary had been stricken from the bidding lists of several international engineering companies, which he declined to name, because of the ban on its access to U.S. oil and gas technology.

"The denial order is a serious threat to the viability of Dresser France," he commented, "since American oil and gas technology is its lifeblood."

Rockwell's valves, according to company officials, had been sold to Dresser long before imposition

of martial law in Poland last December. The president cited Soviet support of Poland's military government as the reason for sanctions against those aiding in construction of the pipeline, which is to carry natural gas from Siberia to Western Europe.

The French government ordered Dresser France to fulfill its contract for the pipeline compressors, even though shipment meant violation of the American embargo. Similarly, the British government told Walter Kidde and Andrew Antenna to fulfill their contracts with the Russians, although shipment in these cases has not yet taken place. Refusal to comply with either the French or British govern-

ment orders would mean stiff fines or other penalties.

**Dutch Pipeline Ruling**  
A Dutch court ordered Seismofabrik Sensor Nederland, a subsidiary of the U.S. firm Geosource Inc., on Friday to fulfill a contract to supply equipment for the Soviet natural gas pipeline. Reuters reported from The Hague.

The district court said that, in spite of the U.S. embargo on use of U.S.-supplied technology in equipment shipped to the Soviet Union, the firm must supply seismometers ordered by a French oil firm, Compagnie Européenne des Petroles, or pay a penalty of 10,000 guilder (\$3,638) per day.

## Thatcher Briefs Suzuki About Pipeline Dispute

The Associated Press

**TOKYO** — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain told Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki on Friday that West European contracts with the Soviet Union for the Siberian natural gas pipeline did not undermine the Western alliance, despite U.S. objections, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said.

Mrs. Thatcher, shortly after arriving here for a five-day state visit, reportedly reassured the Japanese leader of continuing strong U.S.-European ties despite European defiance of American sanctions on the pipeline in connection with the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Mr. Suzuki expressed concern that the extension of credit to the Soviet Union could affect the global strategy of the West, the officials said. He said he wanted to discuss the pipeline question further, because Japanese companies are also involved in the Soviet project.

The two leaders started talks within hours of Mrs. Thatcher's arrival here as the first British prime minister to officially visit Japan in a decade.

They also agreed that the two nations should conclude as soon as possible a bilateral technology agreement, and set the agenda for their more extensive talks Monday.

Mrs. Thatcher proposed that the two leaders discuss five topics: bilateral relations including Britain's trade deficit with Japan, scientific and technical cooperation, the world economy, China and the issue of Britain's lease on the New Territories of Hong Kong, and the dispute over the Soviet natural gas pipeline. The United States opposes the pipeline, which will go from Siberia to Western Europe.

Before the meeting, Mrs. Thatcher, accompanied by her husband, Denis, was greeted by Prime Minister Suzuki, officials, diplomats, and children waving flags during a ceremony at the guest house where she will stay.

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# Reagan's Defense Fuels Critics of His Civil Rights Record

By Howell Raines  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — By denouncing Great Society programs in a speech to a black audience, President Ronald Reagan has provided fresh ammunition for critics who say he is trying to reverse the racial progress of the last 20 years.

The president's speech to the National Black Republican Council has also fueled anew the partisan debate over Mr. Reagan's personal sensitivity to blacks and his understanding of black history.

That debate gained force Thursday because of the intense reaction to the president's speech and because the speech coincided with a series of meetings in Washington this week by black groups that are sharply divided on the question of Mr. Reagan's racial attitudes.

## Speech to Republicans

In his speech Wednesday night reacting to recent criticism of his administration's treatment of the disadvantaged, Mr. Reagan told black Republicans that blacks "would be better off today" if the Great Society programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson had never been started.

A spokesman for the Democratic National Committee, Robert Neuman, predicted that the president's speech would drive lower his poll standing with blacks and provide an opportunity for effective attack on Mr. Reagan.

Glossed over in the exchange of charges was the fact that Mr. Reagan's appearance at the black Republican convention revealed a cleavage between the White House political strategy for the fall elections and the Republican Party's official position on black recruitment.

Officially, the Republican National Committee is committed to using the black Republican council to recruit more black party members. But White House strategists

believe there is little the president can do to win more black voters for the party between now and the congressional elections in November.

The strategists acknowledge that Mr. Reagan's main reason for appearing before black audiences

## NEWS ANALYSIS

was not to gain black supporters, but to reassure moderate whites who might reject his leadership if he appeared to be overtly prejudiced against blacks.

Mr. Reagan's senior black adviser, Melvin J. Bradley, acknowledged that White House polls show that Mr. Reagan's approval rating among blacks is "in the teens."

Moreover, another Reagan adviser added, the negative feel-

ings that have led to the low approval rating were growing stronger because of Mr. Reagan's budget cuts and his policy of having the Justice Department and other agencies abandon the traditional legal remedies for discrimination.

On Thursday, Democratic spokesmen predicted that Mr. Reagan's attempt to use a black forum to solidify himself with white moderates might backfire by prompting a heavy black turnout in the fall elections. Although that is open to argument, it was clear that the president's speech prompted an immediate toughening of campaign talk from both sides.

The racial issue was brought into sharp focus by a series of events that started with the meeting in midweek of the black Re-

publicans and the convening on Friday of the annual conference of the Black Congressional Caucus. In addition, the Washington Council of Lawyers issued a report accusing Mr. Reagan of crippling civil rights enforcement at the Justice Department.

At about the same time, Mr. Reagan's black appointee to the chairmanship of United States Commission on Civil Rights, Clarence M. Pendleton, called on the president to ally black fears by convening a "minority summit conference" at Camp David, Md.

A Reminder to Reagan  
The suggestion by Mr. Pendleton, who is a Republican opposed to the civil rights enforcement policies of the past, was part of a polite effort by black conservatives to remind Mr. Reagan that he has cut

himself off from black leadership groups.

The White House also brushed aside Mr. Pendleton's suggestion of "summit" talks. More quietly, it has ignored appeals from black Republicans to appoint a black with the title of deputy counselor to the president.

In his speech, Mr. Reagan rejected any appeal to blacks through government programs designed to subsidize the disadvantaged. Criticizing what he called the Democrats' "rhetoric of compassion," he asserted that Republicans must attract blacks with the promise of economic self-help.

The dispute over government versus free-market solutions to black problems has been one main point of debate this week. The other has been the quality of Mr. Reagan's caring for blacks.

# Reagan Asks Congress to Meet After Elections

By Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan, claiming that a stopgap funding for the government is "bad economics and bad management," has called on Congress to return to Washington for a lame-duck session after the Nov. 2 elections to complete work on its regular appropriations bills.

Both the Senate majority leader, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, and the speaker of the House, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, said they remained opposed to the idea of a post-election session but reluctantly agreed to Mr. Reagan's request, which was sent by letter.

Mr. Baker told the Senate he prepared to return Nov. 29.

"There's nothing a lot can do about it," Mr. O'Neill grumbled in

reference to the tradition of honoring such presidential requests.

Mr. O'Neill said he told the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, "you've never seen a special session with 75 people here." Moreover, Mr. O'Neill added, "everybody who has legislation kicking around here will want to bring it up."

Congressional aides noted that, while Mr. Reagan's request was limited to action on money bills, there is nothing to prevent Congress from taking up other matters, such as controversial "social issues" such as abortion and school prayer that have bogged down the Senate for weeks and such of Mr. Reagan's priority items as a balanced-budget constitutional amendment.

Mr. Reagan's letter arrived as Congress stepped up its pace of action on appropriations bills but still remained far from enactment of most of its regular spending bills for the 1983 fiscal year that starts Oct. 1.

No more than a few, if any, of the 13 regular appropriations bills are expected to be passed and sent to the president for signature or veto before Congress plans to quit for election campaigning in early October.

This will require stopgap funding through a "continuing resolution," and Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Baker were talking in terms of having such a resolution last until mid-February or early March.

Mr. Reagan, however, said in his letter that any continuing resolution should be for "the shortest possible time." Calling for passage of "responsible regular appropriations bills in a timely manner," he added:

"I have said before, and I feel even more strongly now, that attempting to run the federal government without a proper budget — with a series of temporary continuing resolutions and the associated overall budgetary uncertainty — amounts to both bad economics and bad management."

■ Liberals Launch Filibuster  
Steven J. Roberts of The New York Times reported from Washington:

Senate liberals launched a new filibuster Thursday, this time against a bill that would permit organized prayer in public schools.

The sticking point is that sponsors of the prayer bill, with White House backing, are demanding a record vote on their plan. The measure has little chance of becoming law this year, but a public vote would give conservatives potential ammunition to use against lawmakers who oppose it.

The prayer bill would eliminate Supreme Court jurisdiction over the issue.

## U.S. Panel Rejects Immigration Limit

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The House Judiciary Committee has decided to do away with a proposed ceiling on legal immigration to the United States, one of the major elements of an immigration bill that would be the first thorough overhaul of U.S. immigration law in 30 years.

The amendment eliminating the proposed cap on legal immigration was sponsored by the committee chairman, Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., a New Jersey Democrat. He argued in favor of provisions in the current law that grant virtually unlimited immigration rights to immediate family members of American citizens.

It seems unlikely now the bill can be voted on by the full House in the coming week, and Congress is tentatively planning to adjourn by Oct. 8. The Senate has already passed its own version of the bill.

# Public Works Program Voted by U.S. House

By Seth S. King  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — House Democrats, ignoring Republican charges that they were cynically playing election year politics, approved a large-scale public works program Thursday that they said would provide at least 200,000 new jobs.

Their measure would allocate more than \$1 billion to cities with high levels of unemployment. The cities could use the funds to finance unskilled labor to repair bridges and streets or rehabilitate public buildings and parks.

The House passed the measure by a vote of 223 to 169. Thirty-two Republicans joined the Democrats in supporting it while 28 Democrats voted against it.

The House bill was not expected to go any further, at least in the closing sessions of this Congress. Nothing similar to it has cleared committees in the Republican-controlled Senate, and there was little chance that it could be joined to any other legislation before Congress adjourns early next month.

## Appeal by O'Neill

Before the lengthy debate began, the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., made a special appeal for passage of the bill, claiming it would have an immediate impact on the economy by employing the jobless in rebuilding the country's deteriorating public structures and roads.

"We can no longer accept the good conscience the president's plea for patience," the Massachusetts Democrat said. "The costs of unemployment compensation now outweigh the cost of putting people back to work. We can afford this measure because Congress saved almost \$2 billion by passing the supplemental appropriations bill over the president's veto."

The House passed the measure "in a house" that they said would lead the unemployed to believe Congress had done something for them when it actually had done nothing.

But after these attacks on the Democratic bill, the Republicans tried to substitute a similar measure.

## Seychelles Envoy Is Named

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan announced Thursday that he is nominating a career diplomat, David Fischer, 43, deputy chief of mission in Dar es Salaam, as ambassador to the republic of Seychelles.

# 2d Suspect Held In N.Y. Killing of Donovan Witness

United Press International

NEW YORK — A second reputed organized crime member accused of taking part in the slaying of a witness in the investigation of Raymond J. Donovan, the U.S. labor secretary, has been ordered held without bail pending a hearing on Tuesday.

Philip Buono, 67, pleaded not guilty Thursday to a charge of second-degree murder in the shooting Aug. 25 of Nathan Masselli, 31. He was arrested Wednesday.

Meanwhile, Salvatore Odierno, 67, of Valley Stream, Long Island, a second suspect in the killing, was arraigned in a Bronx court. An order to hold him without bail was continued. A third suspect, still being sought, has been identified as Joseph Verlezza.

Mario Merola, the Bronx district attorney, said after Mr. Odierno's arrest that the killing was an apparent result of a disagreement over money. Mr. Buono and Mr. Verlezza were initially named in a report by the U.S. special prosecutor, Leon Silverman, during an investigation into allegations that Mr. Donovan had ties with organized crime.

But Mr. Silverman concluded Monday that there was insufficient "credible evidence" of such ties.

# David Dubinsky Dies; He Led Garment Union

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — David Dubinsky, 90, a pioneering labor leader who built the International Ladies Garment Workers Union into a 400,000-member political force, died Friday, a union spokesman said.

Under Mr. Dubinsky, the union grew from a small, indebted labor organization into a major national union that he led for 34 years before retiring abruptly in 1966. "I don't want to die with my boots on," he said at the time.

During that time, sweatshops were largely transformed, and he pioneered the expansion of labor's role to include not just wages and hours but a range of benefits and even the cultural life of the worker.

First a socialist revolutionary, later an avid anti-Communist and one of the first major labor leaders to drive Communists from his own union, Mr. Dubinsky became a powerful force in politics at all levels.

He was born Feb. 22, 1892, in Brest-Litovsk in Russian-controlled Poland and taken to Lodz when he was 7. He was only 15 when he joined part in a strike against the bakery where he was employed. The employer was his father.

Because of his union-organizing activities, Mr. Dubinsky was arrested and ordered to exile in Siberia. But he escaped en route and made his way back to Poland.

He arrived in New York on Jan. 2, 1911. He soon joined the garment workers union, and rose through its ranks to become president in 1932.

The union was \$1 million in debt when Mr. Dubinsky took office, and its membership was down to 45,000.

Through a combination of bank loans and energetic organizing drives that swelled membership to 200,000, he liquidated the debts in two years, leaving the union with assets of \$850,000.

## Rosalinde Fuller

NEW YORK (NYT) — Rosalinde Fuller, 90, who played Ophelia to John Barrymore's celebrated Hamlet on Broadway in 1922, died Wednesday at her sister's home in London.

Seoul Minister to Visit U.K.  
SEOUL — Foreign Minister Lee Bum Suk will visit Britain from Oct. 3 to Oct. 6 at the invitation of Foreign Secretary Francis Pym, the Foreign Ministry here said Friday. The announcement said the men will discuss the Korean situation and bilateral cooperation.

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President Ronald Reagan escorted President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines and his wife, Imelda, after a meeting at the White House. The Marcoses are on a five-day state visit.

# Marcos Defends Record on Rights In Meeting With U.S. Congressmen

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines went to Capitol Hill on Friday under heavy police security guard to defend his human rights record against congressional critics.

"We maintain that we have enhanced human rights" by effectively eliminating "leftist anarchy," Mr. Marcos said before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

He denied allegations by Amnesty International, London-based group that monitors human rights, of widespread torture, disappearances and other abuses in the Philippines. "They don't know what's happening," he said.

Mr. Marcos, who spent several hours with President Ronald Reagan on Thursday, arrived Wednesday on a five-day state visit.

## Faced Serious Unrest

During his meeting with the House committee, Mr. Marcos contended that in the face of serious unrest led by leftist rebels, "I had to proclaim martial law." Mr. Marcos declared martial law in 1972, a year ahead of his scheduled

departure from office at the end of his second presidential term. He ruled under martial law until January 1981.

"When I proclaimed martial law," Mr. Marcos said, "there was no such thing as human rights. There were 200 private armies in the Philippines."

"I took unto myself the restructuring of our society," Mr. Marcos said, contending that he had instituted reforms in agriculture and the political process.

On Thursday, Mr. Reagan, asked about the Philippines' human rights record, said: "I think they have made great progress."

That sentiment is not universal shared in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which invited Mr. Marcos for the meeting last Friday morning after he appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Three Democratic members of the Senate committee — Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, Alan Cranston of California and Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts — sent Mr. Reagan a letter Monday protesting Mr. Marcos's visit on human rights grounds.

However, most members of both committees appear to share the administration's position that human rights trends in the Philippines are favorable and that continued U.S.-Philippines friendship serves vital American interests.

One reflection of that sentiment is that U.S. military and economic aid to the Philippines, amounting to more than \$100 million annually, has not come under serious congressional challenge on human rights grounds.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Marcos agreed during their meeting to negotiate beginning in April on a new agreement covering U.S. military bases in the Philippines. The 1979 agreement provides for review and possible revision of the accord every five years until it expires in 1991.

Mr. Marcos's aides have indicated that the Philippines wants a substantial increase in U.S. compensation for access to the bases.

More than 200 uniformed police officers were deployed for Mr. Marcos's visit. Near the Capitol, about 150 Marcos supporters rallied, waving Philippine and U.S. flags.

# Panel Says Lowering Tar, Nicotine Doesn't Cut Hazards of Cigarettes

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — Cigarette smokers who have switched to brands with low tar and nicotine content are still endangering their health, according to a committee of the National Academy of Sciences.

"Evidence of health benefits from switching to reduced tar and nicotine cigarettes is doubtful," the committee said Thursday. It said smokers who cut back on the number of cigarettes or switch to a reduced tar and nicotine brand "may unconsciously change how they smoke to maintain their intake of nicotine."

The committee also said that the tar and nicotine levels on cigarette packs do not represent a smoker's actual exposure and that similar amounts of tar and nicotine can be obtained from cigarettes with different measured ratings.

While the amount of tar and nicotine in cigarettes fell by about half between 1955 and 1975, the most recent year for which complete data were available, deaths from respiratory system cancers increased by about 70 percent during that period.

"The reason for this substantial and unexpected increase is unknown," the committee said, but listed among possible explanations: changes in smoking habits, such as smoking more or inhaling

more; other hazardous substances in cigarettes such as carbon monoxide and hydrogen cyanide, and the possibility that cigarette smoke may act synergistically with other hazards, such as air pollution.

Although the committee focused on lung cancer, it noted that cardiovascular disease is an even greater risk to smokers.

The Tobacco Institute suggested in a statement that the report conflicted with findings released last week at the International Cancer Congress in Seattle.

"At that time," the statement said, "the American Cancer Society asserted substantial advantages for low-yield cigarettes and indicated that over a period of time, smokers do not try to compensate by smoking more than before."

The group that did the study, the Committee on Substance Abuse and Habitual Behavior, operates under the auspices of the National Research Council, an arm of the National Academy of Sciences, which is a nonprofit, government advisory group.

But he said that even impeccable academic credentials guarantee neither accuracy nor responsibility, and "some of the 'cranks' are going to be right. There are no simple answers to any of this."

In both the United States and New Zealand, Dr. Scott said, "there seems to be an idea that the unorthodox should have equal prominence with the orthodox. I'm not so sure that's a valid idea."

He said unconventional practitioners defend their products under the banner of "freedom of choice." But uncritical reporting of the unproven along with the scientifically tested and confirmed, Dr. Scott said, "restricts the people's freedom of informed choice."

## Doctors Criticize Press On Cancer Reporting

The Associated Press

SEATTLE — The way in which the media report on cancer can help send cancer sufferers to those who sell unproven or worthless treatments, according to a New Zealand doctor.

As long as cancer inspires great fear and anxiety, it's easy "for the crank and the charlatan" to present an attractive, brief, convincing and seemingly flawless case through the media, John Scott of the University of Auckland Medical School said this week at the 13th International Cancer Congress.

In an earlier interview, Dr. Scott said doctors contribute heavily to the problem in the way they deal with people with advanced cancer. The medical profession "doesn't give them the time and it doesn't give them the compassion that they need," he said.

## Analysis of Reports

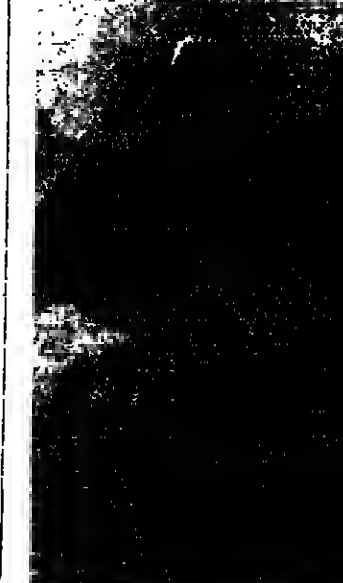
J. Paul Van Nevel of the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Maryland, said an analysis of cancer stories in the 50 largest U.S. newspapers found that they did little to dispel public misconceptions about cancer.

He said a two-month study of cancer stories appearing in 1977 and in 1980 found that the subjects reported rarely matched the priorities of cancer researchers. He said, for instance, the cancer of the colon and rectum, which trails only lung cancer as a killer with 57,000 deaths a year, is rarely mentioned.

Dr. Van Nevel said the popular media traditionally treat cancer — a complex of diseases with different causes, treatments, and outcomes — as a single disease. He said the incidence of various cancers is seldom reported, and the public often overestimates cancer incidence.

## FIELD TRAINING

— A West German Leopard-2 tank leaves a trail of dust and smoke at Münster, West Germany. It is followed by an anti-tank helicopter during NATO exercises.



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Alvaro Magaña, provisional president, right, and General José Guillermo García, the defense minister, reviewed the troops Wednesday during Independence Day celebrations in San Salvador.

## El Salvador, With U.S. Support, Begins 'Dialogue' With Guerrillas

By Bernard Weinraub

**San Salvador** — The Salvadoran government, with the quiet support of the Reagan administration, has begun an indirect "dialogue" with guerrilla leaders intended to end the civil war.  
Western diplomats said Thursday that interest in talks had increased after a secret meeting Sept. 3 in San Salvador between the provisional president, Alvaro Magaña, and the Costa Rican foreign minister, Fernando Volio, to discuss peace negotiations between the government and guerrilla forces.  
Mr. Volio's trip to the capital came after Costa Rica's president, Luis Alberto Monge, met in Costa Rica with Guillermo Manuel Ungo, head of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the political arm of the leftist-led guerrillas.  
In an interview last weekend,

Mr. Magaña denied he was studying proposals from the guerrillas, who are grouped together in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Army. But he said he hoped to establish a multiparty commission before the end of September to take up the question of whether to open peace negotiations.

**Angered at Speech**  
Amid indications that the United States is pressing for negotiations, Salvadoran rightists have reacted angrily to a speech by a senior State Department official last month in San Francisco urging "reconciliation" between warring groups in El Salvador and other Central American nations.

The rightists viewed the speech, by Thomas O. Enders, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, as marking a shift by the Reagan administration in seeking accommodation with leftist forces in the region. Perhaps even more surprising, the speech characterized U.S. policy in the region as a virtual continuation of Carter administration actions.

In the first public reaction to the Enders speech, El Diario de Hoy, a conservative newspaper, said Wednesday that Mr. Enders had a "simplistic view" of Central America and was "out of date" in his understanding of the region.

"If it weren't because it was given by an influential figure in the Reagan administration," the newspaper said of the speech, "we would be tempted to believe it was the work of some confused leftist or some Third World priest."

U.S. officials in San Salvador said the speech marked a shift

toward negotiations as opposed to confrontation with Cuba and the Soviet Union over Central America. Officials asserted that human rights were as much a priority of the Reagan administration as they were under President Jimmy Carter, although activists in San Salvador compiling statistics on violence against civilians deny this.

U.S. officials say efforts to spur talks are highly delicate, partly because opposition to a "dialogue" has been voiced by powerful rightists, some ranking army officers and key members of the Salvadoran guerrilla insurgency. But officials maintain that the Salvadoran left has softened some of its key demands and made a series of what a diplomat termed "propositions which a sane, reasonable man would consider encouraging."

The proposals made by the insurgents, according to Western diplomats, are assurances of personal security for all leftists once talks start, ending of the so-called "state of siege," access for guerrillas to the press and the reopening of the national university of El Salvador, which closed in June 1980.

U.S. officials said one of the key demands of the insurgents — a drastic overhaul of the Salvadoran Army — has apparently been dropped.

U.S. officials said the ultimate aim of any negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the guerrillas would be to enable the leftists to participate in the political process and to take part in presidential elections, which are tentatively scheduled for March 1984.

## Guatemala Army Tied To Terror Campaign

By Marlene Simons

**Las Pacayas, Guatemala** — It was just before dawn when Pedro Guatin heard the shooting, grabbed his hunting rifle and ran. From the foliage nearby, he watched helplessly as strangers in civilian clothes fired wildly into the village huts and set them on fire.

When it was all over, he said, he found his wife, Marcela, dead on the floor. At least 60 other men, women and children in this Pocomchi mountain village were also dead.

Of the 300 survivors who fled to nearby San Cristóbal, many told townpeople that the army had come to kill them on June 11 and that they would never sleep in Las Pacayas again.

This incident has joined the many tales of death in Guatemala's central highlands, where the war between leftist-led guerrillas and the army rages across a vast expanse of mountains, ravines and jungle.

Reports of clashes and massacres come from villages often inaccessible by road. With the two sides in the conflict issuing contradictory bulletins and wearing civilian clothes as well as green uniforms, it is difficult for outsiders to verify who is winning the war or who is to blame for the massacres.

But a reconstruction of the incident at Las Pacayas through numerous interviews with survivors, military officers, health workers and community leaders in a nearby town has confirmed that the strangers who attacked the peasant huts at dawn were soldiers assigned to the military base at Cobán, 12 miles (19 kilometers) away.

The regime of General José Efraín Ríos Montt, which seized power five months ago, is carrying out a methodical counterinsurgency program. Since a state of siege was imposed July 1, government forces have been sweeping across the western and central highlands. The war is waged largely against the Mayan Indians, many of whom are supporters or members of the guerrilla groups that have worked

in the highlands for almost a decade.

Thousands of Indian villagers, who account for more than half of the country's seven million inhabitants, are being herded into army-controlled zones, and General Ríos Montt has pledged "to defeat them by December."

As a result, the death toll, which dropped after the March 23 coup to about 200 a month from about 400, has climbed again. According to Guatemalan news reports, 532 people were killed in June.

With the press silenced now, the army put the July figure at 452. These sources have usually offered conservative estimates.

The new government's efforts to present a better image of itself to the world have been complicated by continuing reports of massacres in which many of the dead are women and children.

Invariably the army blames the insurgents, and in a recent interview General Ríos Montt dismissed as "communist propaganda" the stories of large-scale killings by the military that are repeated by refugees pouring into southern Mexico.

Church groups, monitoring human-rights abuses, contend that the guerrillas are responsible for many deaths, but they say that the rebels generally target individuals identified as enemies rather than entire families.

**Civic Action Also Used**  
In the past two months, the tactics of the army appear to have changed. Senior officers stressed that the current drive includes civic action, unlike in previous counterinsurgency campaigns, as well as the use of informers and interrogation.

Still, strong evidence exists that the army and Civil Defense patrols under its command are responsible for a terror campaign designed to disrupt broad Indian support for the insurgents.

According to a document prepared by Roman Catholic Church workers, soldiers killed 89 people in the village of Petenán in Huehuetenango province July 14. The victims ranged in age from 99 to 15 days and included 37 children.

In another Indian village, soldiers reportedly ordered the Civil Defense patrol to club four men to death after they had first burned the wife, daughter-in-law and grandchild of one of the men.

A foreign missionary, who has been critical of the guerrillas, said the Civil Defense men were "so laden with guilt that they came to confess."

## Expulsions From Chile Stir Unrest

Government, Church Clash on Human Rights

By Jackson Diehl

**SANTIAGO** — The impending expulsion from Chile of eight government critics, including four human-rights activists, has triggered a new confrontation between the authoritarian government of General Augusto Pinochet and the Roman Catholic Church as well as social movements here.

In one of the most aggressive actions against dissident leaders in recent years, the government has obtained a judicial sentence of expulsion against two directors of the Chilean Human Rights Commission and two leaders of the Justice and Peace rights group. The four were accused, along with four others, of violating a ban on political activity by organizing for the Christian Left, a political party.

The human-rights activists have denied the charges, and all eight have disputed the government's case on the ground that the evidence against them was obtained after they were tortured by the Chilean police and held in a prison. Five of the men say they were tortured and forced to sign confessions.

They say they have little hope of winning an appeal later this month. The activists and a variety of rights leaders have charged that the case is part of a campaign to weaken groups that have criticized repressive measures of the government.

**Government Denial**  
This is "putting at stake the very system of human-rights organizations outside of the government," said Domingo Namenciano Serran, one of the leaders of the Justice and Peace group condemned to expulsion Aug. 11.

Government officials, who have denied charges of torture, have responded that the case shows that human-rights organizations and ostensibly apolitical social movements are being used by leftist activists to oppose the government. As debate over the case has increased, officials have expanded this charge of leftist infiltration to include Chile's Catholic Church, the traditional leader of rights activists since General Pinochet's coup in 1973.

Last month, General Fernando Parades, the head of Chile's national police investigation department, charged that agents of the Soviet Union had turned leaders of the church into "slaves of the Marxists."

**Working With the Poor**  
Officials have said they are considering charges against the members of a social rights group whose office was destroyed in a suspicious fire two weeks ago. The group is headed by Fabiola Letelier, sister of former Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier, whose assassination in Washington in 1976 led to the indictment of several high Chilean officials.

The conflicts and charges come at a time when the Pinochet government, plagued by severe economic problems, is facing widespread social unrest and sharp public criticism on other counts. But at the forefront of the dissent have been rights and social movements, which have grown significantly in recent years and often include former political activists.

These organizations have carried out such tasks as assisting families of political prisoners and documenting alleged rights violations and have asked the government by expanding into organizing community movements and working with the poor and unemployed.

The conflict over the groups' activity and the Chilean government's rights record have taken on particular importance as the Reagan administration considers whether to certify to Congress that the Pinochet administration has improved its performance on human rights. The administration's voucher is necessary before military and economic aid suspended by the Carter administration in 1977 can be resumed.

Both government and rights officials say that U.S. certification, already delayed about six months, has become an issue of political importance in Chile.

**Foreign Support**  
Human-rights leaders, with an eye to the effect of U.S. and other international support, have focused on the case of the eight dissidents, which they maintain has been one of the most serious blows to civil rights in Chile in recent years.

The case began on Dec. 10, when Pablo Fuenzalida and German Molina were arrested after a gathering in commemoration of International Human Rights Day. Both are leaders of the Chilean Human Rights Commission, an organization founded by exiled Christian Democratic leader Jaime Castillo in 1980.

Seven other persons were arrested between Dec. 10 and Jan. 17 by Chile's secret police, including two members of Justice and Peace, a Latin American rights organization whose leaders include Adolfo Pérez Esquivel of Argentina, the 1980 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The nine men say they were blindfolded and taken to a prison where they were forced to sign confessions and record incriminating statements under the pressure of threats and, in five cases, beatings and torture with electricity.

**Blast Kills 3 at Seoul Plant**  
**SEOUL** — Three workers were killed and six were seriously injured Friday in an explosion at an explosives factory here, police said.

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## ARTS / LEISURE

## Devaluation Fears Fuel Bids for Minor French Objects

By Soren Melikian

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The fear of a third devaluation of the French franc appears to have set off a near panic among the nonprofessional and small-time dealers that usually attend minor sales at Drouot.

At the first auction of the opening season, conducted by Sorel Drouot on Sept. 14, worthless items elicited unexpected outbursts of enthusiasm while the better pieces sold at low prices. The success encountered by total duds that would be declared unsalable anywhere else may be partly due to the young auctioneer's keen sense of misadventure. An urban man with a placid smile and barely detectable twinkle behind his gold-rimmed glasses, Drouot knows exactly how to create through seemingly haphazard piling of furniture an impression of country rusticity, dust, junk and forgotten treasures. On Tuesday, the mixture had just the right feel — the first two items featuring prominently.

As the porters repeatedly passed around large flat baskets — "maquettes" in obsolete French hardly to be heard outside Drouot — filled with miscellaneous, often nondescript items, sold as a single lot, those sitting in the front, behind the row of tables including them from the auctioneer's podium, grabbed them and feverishly fumbled through the junk.

Extraordinary Financial Response

This is not unusual on such occasions. The sight of something to get hold of after the two-month summer closing of Drouot acts as the smell of blood on a hunter. What is extraordinary is the financial response. The contents of a maquette — a white faience tureen "damaged," as the auctioneer wryly noted, a water jug of which there must be, at a rough guess, a good half-million more in French rural households, and bits of metal defying analysis — were knocked down at 348 francs. This could be regarded as a kind of inaugural joke among the boys. The going commercial price would probably be closer to one-tenth of that price.

But it soon became clear that the joke was repeating itself on a surprising scale.

In keeping with time-honored French auction practice, the maquettes were followed first by a few books, then by drawings, paintings and some prints all mixed together. An interior scene with a young girl sewing, done in the neo-18th-century manner favored by the academic artists

who catered to the French upper middle class around 1860-70, was hard to make out under its coating of oily grime. The eye of a small dealer apparently detected some hidden beauty under the yellow varnish. In a heated contest with a colleague, the dealer got it at 2,668 francs.

After a drawing in sepia wash done in imitation of a famous painting had been sold for 232 francs — an amateur's essay of that type is commercially worth naught — a pair of small watercolors were offered. Their oval, horizontal format is traditionally disliked on both sides of the Channel and accordingly considered noncommittal. The subject matter, in the most hackneyed beribboned shepherdess tradition, hardly recommended them. If the fate-

study of some Gothic church towers. It hardly seemed

overpriced at 348 francs. Nor did a most interesting drawing about 20 by 16 inches in watercolor heightened with gouache of a medieval street in Rouen. The gable-ended houses, which were all razed in the 1944 bombing, were represented in great architectural detail with a skillful handling of light effects. Judging from the costumes, the drawing is datable to the 1840s. Some loving in the sky, probably caused by the acid board on which the drawing is laid down, is hard if not impossible to restore. But this does not affect the documentary value, which is considerable and is hardly disturbing aesthetically. At 296 francs, this lot seems reasonable.

Some objects d'art were equally inexpensive. One lot consisted of two flat cigarette cases in silver-plated metal. The style of the early '30s, with its taste for abstract geometrics, was excellent and at 139 francs the two objects, in perfect condition, were hardly overpriced.

Higher Price Bracket

In a considerably higher price bracket, a so-called "garinure de cheminée," i.e., a chimney piece clock and assorted candlesticks made en suite around 1860-70, was again not expensive. The rococo-style ormolu with its twisted foliage was a bit on the heavy side, as in all the objects of the early 19th century, but the clockwork was good. The very large pieces are of a type that has hardly been sought in recent years largely for export to the United States, South America, and the Gulf area. At just over 20,000 francs, it sold moderately well — the final price when it reaches its ultimate destination might be closer to 60,000-80,000 francs. At any rate this would have been so last season.

This is not to suggest that there has been a drop in demand for the better quality works of art. But the dealers who stock such pieces belong to a category that is sufficiently well-informed to detect the effects of the current recession. Their attention beyond a certain limit may be read as an anticipation of worsening conditions. It is for comparable reasons that the good watercolor of a medieval street in Rouen sold for so little: dealers who sell 19th-century drawings, again, belong to a better educated category than those who might go after a common faience water jug. Small-time dealers are scared of holding onto their devalued cash while their sophisticated colleagues dread a deflationary situation and longer-term fall in demand. Hence the discrepancy between the wildly expensive trash and the rather low-priced better items.

THE ART MARKET

19th-century painter's intention had been to catch something of the light-hearted manner of his 18th-century predecessors such as Pater, he failed abysmally. At 600 francs, the pair would have been dearly paid. At 2,494 francs, it became something of a mystery.

Yet, this was nothing compared with the portrait of a young girl inscribed in the name of Paul Mignon and dated 1897. The artist's name is not entered in any of the great biographical dictionaries of painters, draftsman and engravers, so that it is difficult to check facts, but the paintings struck me distinctly later — the '30s of this century, I should have thought.

Could this have been, who knows, a fake Paul Mignon? Two ladies of some age obviously thought differently. A random bid was made at 1,100 by a third lady who did not seem too sure about her own keenness. Luckily for her, there was one more bid and the uncertain Mignon finally sold to a fourth bidder for 1,340 francs.

Seconds later, the third lady found an object for her thirst for collectibles. It was a mechanical reproduction of a drawing, laid down on board, varnished, and described precisely in those unflattering terms by the auctioneer. She raised her finger with great determination, and got the piece for 247 francs, probably 20 times what it is worth.

Objects d'art went exactly the same way. Two plates "decorated in the Delft manner" as interpreted by popular department store designers, brought 638 francs, a small fortune, other things being equal.

At that rate one might have expected any relatively good piece to soar to dizzy heights. That was far from being the case. Early in the sale there was a fairly large — about 18 inches high — good, watercolor



Detail of "Primavera" showing Spring and Zephyr.

## Botticelli: New Look, New Ideas

By Susan Lumsden

International Herald Tribune

FLORENCE — The restoration of Sandro Botticelli's "Primavera" for the 400th anniversary year of the Uffizi Gallery is as much an event as its creation, and somewhat more comprehensible.

When it was painted, about 1478, it was (3.14 by 2.5 meters) tempera painting on one of the most bizarre masterpieces of the turbulent Florentine Renaissance. It was an allegory of spring based on the pagan myths of Venus, recast in red robes as a beauteous Virgin Mary, Zephyr, the figure of wind, appeared to be abducting the nymph of spring while the three Graces danced around under Cupid's pointed bow.

The work was weird, unquestionably beautiful and a world away from Florence where Lorenzo the Magnificent's brother, Giuliano de' Medici, had just been stabbed to death during Mass in the cathedral.

Botticelli, a neo-Platonist, contended that perfection — and therefore beauty — was necessary of a higher world, unassailable by the infidels of the republic. The idealized traditional humanists, who held man to be the measure of all truths, and merely baffled others.

Disgraced, Botticelli gave up painting for politics and died in poverty in 1510 after his mentor, the Dominican friar Savonarola, was burned at the stake by the Florentines for preaching against their wanton ways. By the time Savonarola wrote his "Lives" in 1550, Botticelli was just a "good draftsman" and so remained until the 19th-century Romantic revival and Bernard Berenson took a second look.

age. In the cleaning, the Three Graces were found to be wearing undergarments under their newly diaphanous veils. "Yes, you could say we've even discovered the sex of Spring," jokes Uffizi exhibition director, Baldini. The head of Florentine laboratorist di Restauro dell'Opificio delle Piere Dure, the Italian state government laboratory responsible for the art restoration.

Mountain Horizon

Perhaps the greater discovery is the distant horizon of mountains suggesting to subsequent centuries that good art is dark art. "In the 14th and 15th centuries and before, the colors of paintings were as vivid and vibrant as the times," says Thomas Schneider, an independent Florentine restorer who rates as "excellent" the job done on the "Primavera." Until the 1930s, he says, many paintings were coated with brown varnish to give them an air of authentic age; the English actually called it "gallery tone."

What was cleaned was what was feasible, based on the scientific studies, the first of the "Primavera." Severe restoration in the last century rendered the robes of Venus and the throat of Spring too delicate to touch. "Complete cleaning would have revealed the damage of the centuries," Baldini explains. "Even the restoration is an interpretation, like the same Beethoven symphony played by Toscanini and by Furtwängler. The results are very different. This approach is called 'proportional cleaning' and I expect it's going to be criticized."

The first volley was fired by those who like their old masters brown. Rembrandt and the more

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## The Met's Changing Style

By John Rockwell

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The Metropolitan Opera that opens its season Monday night with Kiri Te Kanawa, Tatiana Troyanos, Judith Blegen, Kurt Moll and Luciano Pavarotti in "Der Rosenkavalier" is, in a basic sense, the same old Metropolitan Opera it's been for one year short of a century. It is the United States' international opera company, the repository for the proven masterpieces of the operatic repertoire and the home for the best singers it can attract.

But the old Met is also the new Met. The Met's newness can be measured in many ways. One is the shift in artistic leadership from Rudolf Bing to the interregnum of Goeran Gentele and Schuyler Chapin to the "troika" of Anthony Bliss, James Levine and John Dexter to what amounts, now, to a new troika of Bliss, Levine and Joan Ingpen, the British assistant manager in charge of casting.

Another form of measurement would be the style of productions the Met now offers, less opulent but more dramatically considered than they used to be. Another would be singing — not simply, as some old-timers grumble, fewer "stars," but a different kind of star. One could also add a new emphasis on depth of ensemble and the preservation of that ensemble, and on the dramatic and musical values achieved in rehearsal, over the course of a season's run.

But perhaps the most striking way to describe what is different about the new Met is to consider its repertoire.

Until the 1970s, the Met was known primarily as a singers' house, an aviary for what Ingpen refers to as "canary fanciers." But singers have to have something to sing, and the Met's repertoire under Bing was weighted heavily toward warhorse operas of the German and, especially, Italian schools. Bing can be credited for his innovations, chiefly then-rarely-played operas by Verdi and occasional landmark productions, such as his opening-night "Don Carlo" in 1950 and the Eugene Berman "Don Giovanni" that, although falling apart, still graces the Met repertoire.

Typical Bing Season

A look at a typical Bing season — 1959-60 — reveals some interesting similarities and dissimilarities from the Met's forthcoming 1982-83 season. The number of operas presented — 23 in 1959-60; 22 this season — is comparable, although the earlier season was one month shorter. The proportion of operas by Italian and German composers was similar, too, being the widespread assumption that the current regime has de-emphasized the Italian warhorses: 10 Italian and nine German in 1959-60; 11 Italian and seven German in 1982-83.

But there are differences between the two seasons, as well. In Bing's day, the repertoire was based on the standard repertoire to a startling extent. In 1959-60, operas like "Madama Butterfly," "Aida," "Carmen," "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" required thoroughgoing rehearsal in gaps that needed to be filled. Cases shuffled in and out of these operas in a way that does not suggest an overriding concern for coherence: in 1959-60, for the 11 performances of "Aida," there were eight different Amorosos.

Today, there are still many repetitions of popular operas — more than ever, reflecting the longer season. This year there will be 16 "Barbers of Seville," 13 "La Bohème" and 13 "Il Trovatore."

But there has been a steady shift, too, toward less

hackneyed operas and established works not previously done at the Met. Along with the "Bohème" and "Trovatore," there will be 13 performances this season of Mozart's "Idomeneo" — one of the three new productions — and an opera never before done at the Met, as well as a revival of the company's triple bill of Satie's "Parade," Poulenc's "Les Mamelles de Tirésias" and Ravel's "L'Enfant et les Sortilèges."

The new regime at the Met took power in 1974. Levine says that he and his associates "had a clear-cut idea of how we intended to expand the repertoire." Those plans included the introduction of "20th-century classics," commissions and new productions of standard works, and works Levine thought should be standard. Plans for the next three seasons include new productions of Handel's "Rinaldo," Zandonai's "Francesca da Rimini," Mozart's "La Clemenza di Tito," Mussorgsky's "Khovanshchina" and, tentatively, Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess" and the first of the company's two centennial commissions, an opera based on the Medea theme by Jacob Druckman.

Repertory at the Met today is planned by Levine and Ingpen, Bliss, as general manager, holds final veto power, but claims not to intrude his own artistic opinions into the process.

Talk of a Second Theater

The Met will never become an experimental house: its position as a guardian of the standard repertoire as well as the sheer size of its 4,000-seat hall preclude that. There is still talk of a smaller, second theater for more experimental or intimate works and productions, but that will not come until the late '80s at the earliest, after the \$100 million endowment drive is completed and the next round of labor talks, in 1984.

But the new Met remains actively interested in less familiar, nonexperimental operas, and one reason is the kind of singer available today, particularly in the United States, who is comfortable in a wide range of repertoire and willing to take part in a closely knit ensemble that remains a unit throughout the run of an opera. Add to that the necessity for starker, less expensive productions, and the Met's choice of repertoire becomes partly determined by the need to do operas that fulfill those conditions. Better to do Poulenc's "Dialogues of the Carmelites," which can sustain an austere production and doesn't invoke nostalgia, than an understated "Aida."

American opera companies have long been conservative in comparison to Europe's — Ingpen places the taste lag at 20 years. That can have its advantages, Levine adds — the avoidance of "fad productions that are thrown away in six months." But the lag also means that Europe's own interest in new repertoire can have a ripple effect on the Met. Thus, famous singers are now more willing to sing unusual operas, and the Met is more willing to accommodate them. The choice is first of all, Levine stresses, based on the work itself. But aside from the inherent value of an opera like "Khovanshchina," for instance, Ingpen points out that it is being planned in part because Martti Tavela wants to sing it.

Such wishes can't always be fulfilled, however. If an opera relies too heavily on one singer, the Met may be unwilling to risk a new production. The company has a production of Bellini's "I Puritani" in the warehouse. But Joan Sutherland doesn't want to sing it anymore, and the Met has not yet found another singer of similar stature to warrant a revival.

## Three Painting Shows in London

By Max Wykes-Joyce

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — One of the most vigorous exhibitions currently to be seen in London is that of the recent work of the Colombian artist Victoria Ortiz at the Curwen Gallery. It consists of paintings of California, in mixed media on a strong base of watercolor, etchings, aquatints and lithographs of similar Californian themes, and lithographs and serigraphs, some hand-tinted, inspired by the short stories and novels of the magic realist Gabriel García Márquez, the foremost Colombian author.

Trained in Colombia as an architect and designer, Ortiz studied graphic design and printmaking in London, then took a postgraduate degree at the Slade School of Art. From 1980 to the beginning of this year she worked in the Printmaking Arts Center of the University of California at Santa Barbara. From this stay on the West Coast arose the paintings on the theme "Palm Trees" and a sequence of nine prints.

Good as these are, it is in the García Márquez-inspired prints that she has abandoned her former method of collage construction for straightforward painting, on a large scale. Anthro-

pomorphic animals and birds, and the boggies, fashions, hobgoblins and trolls of folklore and nightmare mingle with humans in these highly colorful and disturbing images, which nevertheless have a robust humor about them, even though painted, as her compatriot Alberto de Lacerda observed in a celebrated poem about Rego, "to give fear a face."

Victoria Ortiz, Paintings and Prints, Curwen Gallery, 4 Windmill Street, Charlotte Street, London W1, to Oct. 2.

Paula Rego, Recent Paintings and Prints, Edward Tottah Gallery, 39 Floral Street, Covent Garden, London WC2, to Oct. 9.

The opposite of Rego's complex fantasies are the elegant, finely detailed and subtly colored still lifes of the young German painter and printmaker Kurt Schönen, currently holding his first London exhibition at the Graffius Gallery. For the subjects of these beautifully crafted etchings and mezzotints, and related drawings, he takes the pens, papers and brushes of his trade, his reading glass, a bowl of fruit, and similar extremely simple themes.

"Kurt Schönen — Prints and Watercolors," Graffius Gallery, 30 James Street, London W1, to Sept. 30.

It seems evident from this show of new work that her fear has not come to pass. In these new visual tales, however, she has abandoned her former method of collage construction for straightforward painting, on a large scale. Anthro-

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## Pier Paolo Pasolini's Drawings

By Michael Gibson



# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Grace, the Real Thing

One way to estimate an American's age is whether he calls the beautiful blonde who died this week Grace Kelly or Princess Grace. If the former, he is old enough to remember the McCarthy investigations, liking Ike, the suburban dream and the remarkable sangfroid of a young woman swamped by reporters as she sailed to Europe to marry a prince. When one of them asked if she spoke French, she replied, "Comme ci, comme ça" — as always, giving the public no more than she thought it proper for it to know.

At the time she was a film star, but already of so queenly a mien that it seemed *l'été marseillais* when a presenter called her "Grace" during the Academy Awards ceremony at which she was honored for "The Country Girl." The title she acquired by marriage, "Her Serene Highness," suited her as well as the "It Girl" and the "Oomph Girl" had suit-

ed her predecessors on the American screen. Grace Kelly the actress would have enchanted Henry James the novelist. The young American he sent to Europe, Daisy Miller, was as much a victim of New World gaucherie as of malaria. But the Old World doesn't appear to have fazed this grandchild of poor immigrants. Miss Kelly was a far more credible royal than most royalty, like the Cockney model in another Henry James story, "The Real Thing," who posed a far more convincing aristocrat for a painter than the society woman he had first hired.

If a profoundly democratic society like ours was proud that an American became a much-publicized princess, it is not because Americans are closet monarchists. Instead it is because Americans think this particular princess was best of class.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## U.S. Military Spending

For the second time in recent weeks, the Reagan administration has run up against congressional resistance to additional Pentagon spending. Last week the president was defeated in a request for a \$2-billion increase for the rest of this fiscal year when Congress overrode his veto of the supplemental appropriations bill. This week the argument is over administration resistance to 1983 military spending limits set in the budget process.

From the perspective of Senate Republican leaders, much more is at stake than the defense budget itself. There is, of course, room for doubt that the administration's military strategy is so finely honed that a few billion dollars can be crucial to its success. Nor has the administration made a case that any particular cut cannot be tolerated. But the issue that has given pause to so staunch an administration supporter as Sen. Ted Stevens, chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on defense, is whether the administration is a reliable partner in congressional efforts to control the budget.

The budget resolution that Congress and the administration signed off on last June called for trimming several billion dollars from the amount the president wanted for defense in 1983. This year Congress put very strict controls on the appropriations committees to make sure that the bills written for each program area stayed within the limits of the budget resolution. The final allocation

agreements for each committee were made public in late July.

On Aug. 3, OMB Director David Stockman told the Senate Budget Committee that the administration not only agreed to those allocations — including defense — but would use them as the benchmark against which to judge whether the president should veto an appropriations bill. Now the administration claims that it did not understand the implications of the allocations, and Defense Secretary Weinberger has refused to supply a plan to meet the lower target.

The administration apparently hopes that by taking a hard line with Congress — which has always found it hard to deal with the defense budget in other than pork-barrel terms — it will win out in the rush to keep the government operating while Congress adjourns to prepare for the November elections. Senate leaders, however, have good reason to push for a compromise that conforms with both the spirit and the letter of the budget resolution. If the agreement on military spending is violated, control over congressional decisions in other parts of the budget will be greatly weakened. Congress will also have relinquished the only real leverage it has to persuade the administration to develop a coherent strategy for improving America's defenses without imposing intolerable strains on the federal budget.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Editorial Opinion

### Bashir Gemayel Is Gone

Among the sinister news items of which this year has been so full, there is perhaps the worst. Not that Bashir Gemayel was a saint come down from some stained glass window to provoke our tears with his virtue. He was first, like most Lebanese politicians, a clan leader and not especially squeamish as to the methods he used. But it happens that this fighter also had a political brain. He had understood that if he was to become president of Lebanon he would have to be president of the Lebanese, and not only of the country's Maronite Christians — who, furthermore, are more deeply divided than is often thought. He succeeded in getting himself elected by representatives of all the country's religious communities.

One began to hope again. Evacuation of West Beirut was carried out without the slightest incident. The Israelis drew back their tanks. The Lebanese Army reappeared. With that ardor for life the instant the fire storm ends that they share with the inhabitants of volcanic regions, the people of the capital began clearing the ruins with the help of bulldozers rushed in from Saudi Arabia.

After so many years of civil war, many people had despaired of Lebanon. Still, for some time now, a year perhaps, one had sensed, in the face of so much misery, the rebirth of a national consciousness, a desire to surmount passions, prejudices, hatreds, and restore to the country of the cedar its old role as the Switzerland of the Near East, where Maronite and Orthodox Christians, Shiite and Sunni Moslems, Druze, Jews and Armenians once lived in peace.

—André Fontaine in *Le Monde*.

At the time of his death he was steering a canny course down the middle — between Moslem demands that he repudiate peace with Israel, and Tel Aviv's increasing pressure for a piece of paper, signed and sealed.

The thread that runs through all Israeli foreign policy is that you never take risks with Arabs, of whatever religion. Rather than aim

for the possible prize of a united, friendly Lebanon, which might turn out to be neither united nor friendly, why not take what was more easily available — another swipe at the Syrians, knock them back militarily for a few more years, and use a large chunk of southern Lebanon as a buffer? Now that Bashir is gone, the hand of those who argue in this way will certainly be strengthened.

Lebanon has few effective leaders and very little time in which to find them.

Asked who might be responsible for the killing, a Phalange official said: "There are just too many people who want to keep this country in a mess."

—Martin Woolcott in *The Guardian*.

### Calm Beauty, Blythe Elegance

It may be argued that Grace Kelly, whose career on the screen stopped just short of a dozen films, never really left the stage, although she retired from acting when she married and could not be persuaded to return.

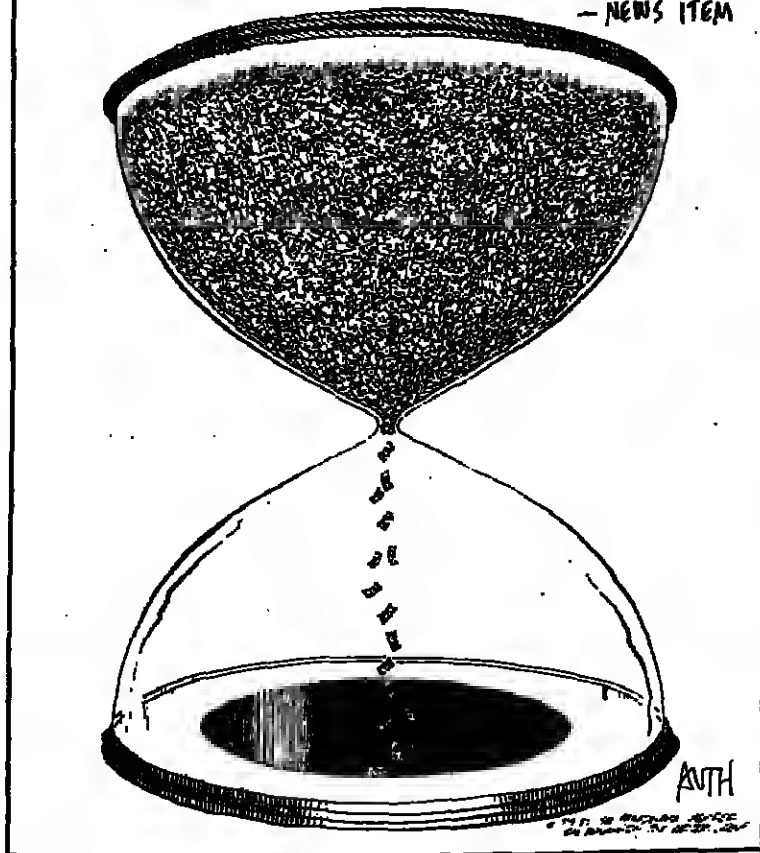
"Why should she?" asked Gary Cooper, one of her leading men. "She's moved from the artificial stage to a real one."

Indeed, her life fascinated, even if its details were brief. Her reputation grew with every movie that she did not make, and as Her Serene Highness the Princess Grace of Monaco, her polish and charm sustained the image of a fairy-tale marriage. She was not named Grace for nothing. F. Scott Fitzgerald once complained that there are no third acts in American lives. Grace Kelly's life, in fact, contained four: delicate daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia Irish family, Hollywood, royal retirement to Monte Carlo, and now her tragic death in an automobile accident at age 32.

—The Los Angeles Times.

THE SUPERPOWERS WILL SPEND ONE MILLION DOLLARS PER MINUTE ON ARMS THIS YEAR.

—NEWS ITEM



## The Pipeline Spat, Viewed From France

By Claude Cheysson

The writer is French minister of external relations.

PARIS — The dispute between Americans and Europeans over the Siberian natural gas pipeline has had such an effect that some people suggest that the entire gamut of trans-Atlantic relations depends on it. Yet, with all the problems that have to be dealt with together, reason must be brought into the picture. A family quarrel, as President Reagan called it, cannot be allowed to cause damage out of all proportion to the issue.

First, let's disregard all the imputed intentions and look at the facts. The pipeline question started several years ago when the French government was looking for ways to secure a dependable, and thus diversified, source of energy for a country with few energy resources of its own. The first answer was nuclear power (and France has firmly followed this option), but that was not enough. There was still a need to import huge amounts of hydrocarbons.

There then emerged the danger of overdependence on crude oil. Independence mandated a substantial use of natural gas.

Deeply concerned with maintaining its independence, France, after a thorough study of the world supply, carefully determined how much gas it could import from the Soviet Union to complete a systematically diversified energy picture. When the program is completed, Soviet gas will account for only 5 percent of France's energy consumption. Furthermore, technical measures will be imposed so that we can promptly offset an interruption of Soviet supplies. Our European partners have reasoned as we have, and have acted as we have.

Naturally, European firms in the appropriate fields made bids to supply the equipment. Why should Soviet companies or Soviet workers be the only ones to benefit from industrial contracts of this size that we ourselves have placed? It is true that the risk of energy dependence is not the only argument that has been advanced by U.S. critics of the pipeline. For some time now, Washington has been telling us that trade with the Soviet Union would enable that country to acquire foreign currency and thus the means to enhance its military strength and consolidate its domination over Eastern Europe despite considerable economic difficulties. Washington's conclusion has been that trade with the Soviets must be curtailed in order to seriously inconvenience them.

The French government has given its view of this reasoning. Of course we firmly rule out any form of cooperation that would contribute directly to Soviet military power. In late 1981 France was

active in defining measures for strict control over the transfer of sensitive technologies. France repeated its determination in this respect at the Versailles and Bonn summit meetings in June.

France unconditionally condemned the repression that descended on Poland, and has acted accordingly. French public opinion would never agree to privileged trading conditions for the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe in the absence of progress in East-West relations. Financial and banking difficulties have been responsible for a sharp drop in commercial and economic exchanges. Those between France and the Soviet Union

*"When economic pressure is used as a weapon, the first victims are often likely to be those employing it."*

declined 30 percent from early 1981 to early 1982, while those between the United States and the Soviet Union rose more than 50 percent.

But we do not believe in the effectiveness of sanctions. Punitive measures, which are necessarily limited, are not the way to persuade Soviet leaders to change policies that we condemn. The Soviet Union's economic relations with Western Europe account for only a tiny part of its gross domestic product. The authoritarian organization of the Soviet economy enables the government to focus its efforts on priority sectors chosen by the leaders. So there is little sense in following a policy of trade restrictions that go beyond the imperatives of security and sound finance.

When economic pressure is used as a weapon, the first victims are often likely to be those employing it. In the case of the gas pipeline, would anyone consider it normal for a few European companies to suffer a severe blow and for tens of thousands of workers to lose their jobs, when the work will go ahead in any case and the Europeans depend on its completion? Yet this would be the effect of the American decisions made last month.

One should also call to mind the conditions in which the American government is trying to impose on non-American firms an order to not respect previously signed contracts. There is a cur-

ious attempt here to extend one government's power in both space and time. It is hardly conducive to the climate of confidence necessary for international transactions in liberal economies.

For the immediate future, the French government and the three other European governments concerned are reacting within their national sovereignties. They have expressed the desire to see freely negotiated and signed contracts respected, and have asked companies in their countries to disregard foreign injunctions. In France, a 1959 order provides for requisition of goods and services for "the needs of the country," and thereby for honoring regular contracts when due.

There is nothing surprising about these reactions. Imagine for a moment how it would be if the situation were reversed: France, West Germany, Italy or Britain presuming to forbid a U.S. company from honoring a contract signed with South Africa, Guatemala or some other country. No one in Washington would hesitate to urge the American company in question to ignore such an order. Consequently, nothing in the common reaction of the four European states implies that our alliance and the community of interests uniting us within it are in any way called into question. France recognizes the pre-eminent role played by the United States in defending Western civilization. But the alliance is an association of sovereign nations — the Washington Treaty is not the Warsaw Pact. We are an alliance, not a "bloc."

Diversity and freedom of judgment are elements from which we draw pride and strength in our association. Joint consultations among all members of the Atlantic Alliance are fundamental. Apart from the more or less binding commitments resulting from treaties, no decision may be imposed by one power on the other.

In the context of the present dispute between Europeans and Americans, we regret the incentives to the Soviets to speed up their own technological endeavors; we also regret that fundamental principles of the market economy are being upset and that division is being created among the allies. Even more, we deplore the apparent challenge to the existing balance among the members of the Atlantic Alliance through the claim to a particular directorial right supposedly owed to the strongest member of the group, to the "leader." The time has come, and it is high time, to put a stop to a dispute so pernicious in its consequences.

Los Angeles Times.

## The 1950s in America: A Destructive Prelude

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Nostalgia can reflect failure of nerve, a flinching from an arduous present. But Jeffrey Hart's new book recalling life in the 1950s — "When the Going Was Good!" — is constructive nostalgia.

Hart, an academic who helps edit National Review magazine, counters the view that the 50s — "a time when all that was revealed America's crassness, for the intellectuals, Ike and America were 'the bland leading the bland.'" For Hart, "Not since the 1920s had so much been happening, both in popular and high culture."

Enriching the life of the mind were distinguished novelists (Faulkner, Hemingway), poets (Eliot, Frost), theologians (Niebuhr, Tillich) and painters (Hopper, Pollock) who made Manhattan the art capital of the world. "Eisenhower's smile," writes Hart, "was almost a philosophical statement." Some people who wanted to supplement the smile with conservative ideas were casting seeds on stony soil. The emblematic intellectual of the 50s, Lionel Trilling, had written in "The Liberal Imagination" (1949) that "liberalism is not only dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition." There were, he said, no conservative ideas in circulation.

**Television**  
But in 1953 Russell Kirk published "The Conservative Mind," and in 1955 William F. Buckley Jr. launched the magazine (National Review) that, a quarter century later, was the president's favorite. In October 1951 Lucille Ball began television's first long-running situation comedy. Soon Lucy was, er, "expecting" (CBS banned the word "pregnant"); 44 million people watched the episode "Lucy Goes to the Hospital" — twice the number who watched Ike being inaugurated the next day.

In 1953 Hugh Hefner launched Playboy. In 1957 Searle pharmaceutical company launched Enovid — "the pill." Three books of the 50s — "The Kinsay Report," "Peyton Place" and "Lolita" — suggested what was increasingly on America's mind.

A Memphis record producer reportedly said: "If I could find a

white man who had a black sound and the black feel, I could make a billion dollars." Then he found Elvis. In 1955 Bill Haley and the Comets recorded "Rock Around the Clock" for the movie "Blackboard Jungle." Rock was lastingly identified with youth unruliness.

Like Hart, I was a happy lad in the 50s, which glow in my memory. But Hart does not refute the accusation that those years were pregnant with the impulses that were to make the 60s so dreadful.

### Infantilism

In his nicely named final chapter, "From the Clock to the Billmore to LSD," Hart acknowledges that "the great shift in style and emotion" was gestating during the 50s. While we were "meeting under the clock," Hart notes, there was a mass market for books anticipating the anxieties of the 60s about the suffocation of individuality and spontaneity by social structures and pressures: David Reisman's "The Lonely Crowd" (1950), C. Wright Mills' "White Collar" (1951), Sloan Wilson's "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit" (1955), William Whyte's "The Organization Man" (1956).

"James Dean's portrayal of an 'alienated' teen-ager in 'Rebel Without a Cause' (1955) popularized the kind of putting that self-absorbed youths in the 60s confused with politics."

Hart rightly emphasizes the vitality of the 50s. But perhaps the going was good because the going was easy and standards of good were not demanding. America had unchallengeable military superiority, yet settled for stalemated in Korea. It had an economic head start on a world recovering from war, yet was soon panting.

The infantilism — impatience, hedonism, inability to defer gratification — that produced the cultural dissolution of the 60s helped give rise to the inflation of the 70s. Those failings gathered force in the 50s. Some of that decade's vitality was license — a letting go after so much bearing down in Depression and war. The great release of energy in the 50s had a destructive dimension, reflecting a collapsing capacity for discipline.

The Washington Post.

## Now That Begin Has Had His Way, The PLO Poses a Political Threat

By William Pfaff

PARIS — There is an old warning that one should be careful for what one prays, since one may get it. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin had long and fervently prayed for the removal of the military threat posed to his country by the Palestine Liberation Organization. He took energetic steps to see that his prayers would be fulfilled, and so they were. There is no longer a PLO military threat to Israel.

There is now a political threat, of a scale which never before existed. The pope, President Reagan, the president of Greece, Italy and France, and other West Europeans all in one or another way have now acknowledged or lent support to the notion that a Palestinian political entity must be recreated. If this happens, it inevitably will be at the expense of Israel, as Israel now exists, or of Israeli security as the government of Israel now conceives of its security.

Moreover, Israel for the first time in its history finds itself roughly treated by the world press, for what has happened in Lebanon and goes on happening, it has been placed on the defensive, and it discovers that a real rift has been opened among its supporters in America, many of whom

can no longer in good conscience support Israel's policy in Lebanon, or its determined settlement of the West Bank with Jewish colonists.

The Israelis protest that the world press pays too much attention to casualties in Lebanon and neglects the civilians killed in Israel by earlier PLO attacks. Let it then be said that the PLO has repeatedly attacked not only Israeli civilians but Jews abroad, and non-Israelis who merely happened to be in the Palestinians' way.

### A Nuisance

By credible accounts, they have trained and armed apprentice terrorists from Europe, Japan, even the United States. They have been unscrupulous in what they have done. But they have not done much. Even the official Israeli press spokesmen have to include European victims of terrorism in their totals of the PLO's crimes in order to get the number into three figures.

The PLO, whatever its stocks of arms in the refugee camps, was never a direct military threat to Israel of any consequence. It was a murderous nuisance. Its rockets and shells en-

dangered the people on Israel's northern border. Its suicide squads, bands of desperate men, would infiltrate the country to blow up a bus, seize a school, seize hostages.

What they did not do, because they could not, was jeopardize Israel's essential military security. The PLO's tactics were those of weakness, in default of anything serious to do.

The PLO was isolated politically. Until the last few months, the Palestinians' only allies were the Arabs and the Soviet bloc, neither able to give them effective help to gain their goals. The European Community had declared that the Palestinians had a right to a homeland, but this meant little since the Europeans have little to say in the Middle East. The United States refused to consider the Palestinians as other than refugees with humanitarian claims.

But now, thanks to Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, the Palestinian case has been in the headlines for months. The PLO has been enabled to make the claim that it, and it alone, among the Arabs, has successfully stood up to Israeli military attack. The legitimacy of the Palestinians' claim to a homeland in historical Palestine has found explicit or implicit acknowledgment in nearly all the Western capitals. Even the United States, vital to Israel, has now given qualified recognition to the Palestinian claim.

Furthermore, as a direct result of the invasion of Lebanon and the aftermath, the Arab League, at its meeting in Fez, proclaimed every Middle Eastern nation's right to exist in peace — as it never before had been willing to do. This indirect recognition of Israel's existence, grudging and limited as it is, undercuts Israel's previous claim that its own intransigence is essential because the Arabs refuse to let Israel live.

So an Israeli might well say, "Bravo Menachem Begin! Many such Israeli victories and the Palestinians will have won thereby."

### A Defeat

One might even think that, on the results thus produced, Israel's voters might reasonably turn Mr. Begin and Gen. Sharon out. They have managed to turn a perfectly tolerable, indeed, advantageous, Israeli situation with respect to the Palestinians encamped in Lebanon into a costly political defeat, at serious cost in Israeli lives and much greater cost to the innocent — which even now goes on.

Do Israeli voters understand what has happened? One thinks not. Mr. Begin's support seems to be solidly there ever. It is the opposition Labor Party, with its support derived mainly from the Europeanized community, demographically in decline.

There is another old warning, against hubris, or the arrogance which leads one to overreach oneself. The risk for Israel today, which arises spontaneously from the terrible experience of the Jewish people in 20th century Europe and from the besieged circumstances in which the Israeli government will lose that grasp of limit, of possibility, which is essential to good policy — the knowledge of when to stop. Without that, Israel is in danger of doing again and again what it has just done in Lebanon, which is to call into being exactly those things which it most fears.

International Herald Tribune.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Nixon on Détente

Regarding "The Case For 'Hard-headed' Détente" (IHT, Aug. 23):

Former President Richard Nixon writes that he strengthened his hand with the Russians by ordering the bombing and mining of Haiphong in North Vietnam, on the eve of his first summit meeting with Mr. Brezhnev. Yet Mr. Nixon concludes his article with the contention that "the very fact that a summit is approaching tends to inhibit the Soviet Union from engaging in adventurous practices beforehand."

If a theory of international relations is to be credible, its reasoning should be consistent.

RANDY H. GRODMAN,  
Geneva.

### Ambassador Defended

In response to "French Reaction" (Letters, Aug. 27):

I would like to raise a cheer for Evan Galbraith and the fine job he is doing. In recent months the American ambassador has been the target of a number of undeserved brickbats. An ambassador's job is to present the views of his government, and that is what he is doing — with clarity and good humor that have earned him the respect of the French government.

Richard Huzar raises two issues, terrorism and the Soviet gas pipeline,

which, however regrettably, are viewed differently by Washington and Paris. Ambassador Galbraith is an advocate of Washington's views.

That Mr. Huzar is tossing a partisan brickbat becomes evident in his crack about the worth of training businessmen to be diplomats. This is a favorite liberal slur.

Having been in business in France for more than 22 years, I want to say that I am proud and thankful to have a man of Ambassador Galbraith's caliber representing America.

PHILIP J. WOLF,  
Longjumeau, France.

### On the Philippines

The IHT has of late been publishing reports on the Philippines that are inaccurate, tendentious, baseless or create false impressions of the actual situation in the country.

One describes the Philippines as if it were on the verge of civil war. The sporadic disturbances caused by the local Communists do not at all constitute a threat to the stability of the government. President Marcos characterized the leaders of this group as upstarts out to make noise just to gain recognition. The isolated forays they make hardly, if at all, affect the peace and order that generally reign.

Another leads the reader to think that the government is insensitive to

the social and economic problems of its people. A quick look into the programs to improve living conditions, especially of the poor, and at the enormous amounts provided in the budget for the purpose would show that the government has at heart the economic and social well-being of its citizens. One should not neglect to consider the context of an economy adversely affected by a world economic recession that has lowered the price of its raw material exports and increased its energy costs.

Another presents a repressive regime, in a distorted description of what is actually happening. As in many countries, there might be some lapses among the military, but these are very rare exceptions and are promptly corrected and severely punished under our laws. The recent arrests of labor leaders were not meant to terrorize labor; the leaders were being held for inciting rebellion and sedition punishable in accordance with constitutional processes.

Regarding two editorials that you published on Sept. 16, it should be observed that President Marcos holds office in accordance with the constitution of the land and with a mandate from the people through the democratic instrument of elections.

FELIPE MABLANGAN,  
Ambassador of the Philippines,  
Paris.

## SEPT. 18: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1907: Dealing With the Moors

PARIS — The Herald editorial says: "Gen. Drude's negotiations in Morocco with the delegates of the tribes are proceeding apace. To judge from the conditions he imposes, his intention is to remove all temptation from the turbulent Moors to recommence their exploits. France employed half a century in the conquest of Algeria, and then her hands were free, whereas in Morocco the Act of Algiers trammels her action. The Moors are a proud and independent people, and no treaty that delivers any portion of their land to a foreigner can be long binding on them. In this case, as in Algeria, France has embarked upon an adventure that will probably be long and will certainly be costly."

### 1932: Economies in New York

NEW YORK — Mayor Joseph McKee, continuing his drive for municipal economy, struck a blow at the upholstered luxuries of department heads and commissioners in an order to abolish the city's private auto fleet, in which scores of officials heretofore have been carried to and from work. Himself a user of the subway, the mayor said he could see no reason why other officials could not use the underground, and ordered that city cars were to be used for city business only. The mayor, whose whirlwind campaign to cut expenses is causing gasps of astonishment at City Hall, also instructed the department of sanitation to put members of the street cleaners' hand back at street sweeping.

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**Dow Jones Averages**

30-Stock	2,812.12	100-Stock	1,125.12	200-Stock	1,125.12
Industries	1,125.12	Utilities	1,125.12	Transportation	1,125.12
Chemicals	1,125.12	Electronics	1,125.12	Healthcare	1,125.12
Food	1,125.12	Metals	1,125.12	Energy	1,125.12
Telecom	1,125.12	Real Estate	1,125.12	Other	1,125.12

**Market Summary, Sept. 17**

Market	Index	Change
NYSE	2,812.12	+10.12
AMEX	1,125.12	+5.12
OTC	1,125.12	+2.12

**NYSE Index**

Index	Value
NYSE Composite	2,812.12
NYSE Industrial	1,125.12
NYSE Utility	1,125.12
NYSE Transportation	1,125.12
NYSE Chemical	1,125.12
NYSE Electronics	1,125.12
NYSE Healthcare	1,125.12
NYSE Food	1,125.12
NYSE Metals	1,125.12
NYSE Telecom	1,125.12
NYSE Real Estate	1,125.12
NYSE Other	1,125.12

**NYSE Most Actives**

Symbol	Price	Change
IBM	110.12	+1.12
Microsoft	110.12	+1.12
Apple	110.12	+1.12
Oracle	110.12	+1.12
Sun	110.12	+1.12

**Standard & Poors Index**

Composite	1,125.12
Industries	1,125.12
Utilities	1,125.12
Transportation	1,125.12
Chemicals	1,125.12
Electronics	1,125.12
Healthcare	1,125.12
Food	1,125.12
Metals	1,125.12
Telecom	1,125.12
Real Estate	1,125.12
Other	1,125.12

**Market Diaries**

NYSE	2,812.12
AMEX	1,125.12
OTC	1,125.12

**AMEX Stock Index**

AMEX Composite	1,125.12
AMEX Industrial	1,125.12
AMEX Utility	1,125.12
AMEX Transportation	1,125.12
AMEX Chemical	1,125.12
AMEX Electronics	1,125.12
AMEX Healthcare	1,125.12
AMEX Food	1,125.12
AMEX Metals	1,125.12
AMEX Telecom	1,125.12
AMEX Real Estate	1,125.12
AMEX Other	1,125.12

**AMEX Most Actives**

Symbol	Price	Change
IBM	110.12	+1.12
Microsoft	110.12	+1.12
Apple	110.12	+1.12
Oracle	110.12	+1.12
Sun	110.12	+1.12

**Friday's NYSE Closing Prices**

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Table with 10 columns: 12 Month High, 12 Month Low, Stock, Div., Yld., P/E, High, Low, Close, Change. Contains stock prices for various companies.

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**AT&T Requests Permission to Try Cut-Rate Phones**

NEW YORK — For 50 cents, pay telephone users may soon be able to call someone anywhere in the United States — but only for 30 seconds.

American Telephone & Telegraph Co. Thursday asked the Federal Communications Commission for permission to begin offering "express call" service in December at specially installed public phones at five California locations.

Persons using special telephones would pay a flat rate of 50 cents for a 30-second call to anywhere in the United States, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The AT&T plans call for expanding the new service by installing express-call phones in New York, Massachusetts and Michigan by Jan. 31, and eventually the service could be provided nationally.

Express call would be AT&T's first interstate service in which calls are timed for less than a minute. New York Telephone Co., a subsidiary of AT&T, introduced a similar service in October 1978, but it applies to calls only within New York state made from selected public phones. The fee is 25 cents per 30-second call.

AT&T said in a statement that express call would provide users both interstate and intrastate long-distance phone service.







## Friday's AMEX Closing Prices

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

[illegible]

13-15	1/2 + 1/2	19%	1	Gorch	wt	31	134	134	134	101%	64
13%	13 1/2 + 1/2	2%	13 1/2	GouldT	1.40	8.4 10	5	15%	16%	16%	12
23%	23 1/2 + 1/2	17%	7%	Graham	.22	42	5	9	7%	7%	61
23%	23 1/2 + 1/2	11	7%	Graham	.22	15	170	8%	8%	9	4

72	54	Orma	3.50	11	8	24	24	1971
73	59	Orma	3.50	12	8	24	24	1972
74	64	Orma	3.50	13	8	24	24	1973
75	69	Orma	3.50	14	8	24	24	1974
76	74	Orma	3.50	15	8	24	24	1975
77	79	Orma	3.50	16	8	24	24	1976
78	84	Orma	3.50	17	8	24	24	1977
79	89	Orma	3.50	18	8	24	24	1978
80	94	Orma	3.50	19	8	24	24	1979
81	99	Orma	3.50	20	8	24	24	1980
82	104	Orma	3.50	21	8	24	24	1981
83	109	Orma	3.50	22	8	24	24	1982
84	114	Orma	3.50	23	8	24	24	1983
85	119	Orma	3.50	24	8	24	24	1984
86	124	Orma	3.50	25	8	24	24	1985
87	129	Orma	3.50	26	8	24	24	1986
88	134	Orma	3.50	27	8	24	24	1987
89	139	Orma	3.50	28	8	24	24	1988
90	144	Orma	3.50	29	8	24	24	1989
91	149	Orma	3.50	30	8	24	24	1990
92	154	Orma	3.50	31	8	24	24	1991
93	159	Orma	3.50	32	8	24	24	1992
94	164	Orma	3.50	33	8	24	24	1993
95	169	Orma	3.50	34	8	24	24	1994
96	174	Orma	3.50	35	8	24	24	1995
97	179	Orma	3.50	36	8	24	24	1996
98	184	Orma	3.50	37	8	24	24	1997
99	189	Orma	3.50	38	8	24	24	1998
100	194	Orma	3.50	39	8	24	24	1999
101	199	Orma	3.50	40	8	24	24	2000
102	204	Orma	3.50	41	8	24	24	2001
103	209	Orma	3.50	42	8	24	24	2002
104	214	Orma	3.50	43	8	24	24	2003
105	219	Orma	3.50	44	8	24	24	2004
106	224	Orma	3.50	45	8	24	24	2005
107	229	Orma	3.50	46	8	24	24	2006
108	234	Orma	3.50	47	8	24	24	2007
109	239	Orma	3.50	48	8	24	24	2008
110	244	Orma	3.50	49	8	24	24	2009
111	249	Orma	3.50	50	8	24	24	2010
112	254	Orma	3.50	51	8	24	24	2011
113	259	Orma	3.50	52	8	24	24	2012
114	264	Orma	3.50	53	8	24	24	2013
115	269	Orma	3.50	54	8	24	24	2014
116	274	Orma	3.50	55	8	24	24	2015
117	279	Orma	3.50	56	8	24	24	2016
118	284	Orma	3.50	57	8	24	24	2017
119	289	Orma	3.50	58	8	24	24	2018
120	294	Orma	3.50	59	8	24	24	2019
121	299	Orma	3.50	60	8	24	24	2020
122	304	Orma	3.50	61	8	24	24	2021
123	309	Orma	3.50	62	8	24	24	2022
124	314	Orma	3.50	63	8	24	24	2023
125	319	Orma	3.50	64	8	24	24	2024
126	324	Orma	3.50	65	8	24	24	2025
127	329	Orma	3.50	66	8	24	24	2026
128	334	Orma	3.50	67	8	24	24	2027
129	339	Orma	3.50	68	8	24	24	2028
130	344	Orma	3.50	69	8	24	24	2029
131	349	Orma	3.50	70	8	24	24	2030
132	354	Orma	3.50	71	8	24	24	2031
133	359	Orma	3.50	72	8	24	24	2032
134	364	Orma	3.50	73	8	24	24	2033
135	369	Orma	3.50	74	8	24	24	2034
136	374	Orma	3.50	75	8	24	24	2035
137	379	Orma	3.50	76	8	24	24	2036
138	384	Orma	3.50	77	8	24	24	2037
139	389	Orma	3.50	78	8	24	24	2038
140	394	Orma	3.50	79	8	24	24	2039
141	399	Orma	3.50	80	8	24	24	2040
142	404	Orma	3.50	81	8	24	24	2041
143	409	Orma	3.50	82	8	24	24	2042
144	414	Orma	3.50	83	8	24	24	2043
145	419	Orma	3.50	84	8	24	24	2044
146	424	Orma	3.50	85	8	24	24	2045
147	429	Orma	3.50	86	8	24	24	2046
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150	444	Orma	3.50	89	8	24	24	2049
151	449	Orma	3.50	90	8	24	24	2050
152	454	Orma	3.50	91	8	24	24	2051
153	459	Orma	3.50	92	8	24	24	2052
154	464	Orma	3.50	93	8	24	24	2053
155	469	Orma	3.50	94	8	24	24	2054
156	474	Orma	3.50	95	8	24	24	2055
157	479	Orma	3.50	96	8	24	24	2056
158	484	Orma	3.50	97	8	24	24	2057
159	489	Orma	3.50	98	8	24	24	2058
160	494	Orma	3.50	99	8	24	24	2059
161	499	Orma	3.50	100	8	24	24	2060
162	504	Orma	3.50	101	8	24	24	2061
163	509	Orma	3.50	102	8	24	24	2062
164	514	Orma	3.50	103	8	24	24	2063
165	519	Orma	3.50	104	8	24	24	2064
166	524	Orma	3.50	105	8	24	24	2065
167	529	Orma	3.50	106	8	24	24	2066
168	534	Orma	3.50	107	8	24	24	2067
169	539	Orma	3.50	108	8	24	24	2068
170	544	Orma	3.50	109	8	24	24	2069
171	549	Orma	3.50	110	8	24	24	2070
172	554	Orma	3.50	111	8	24	24	2071
173	559	Orma	3.50	112	8	24	24	2072
174	564	Orma	3.50	113	8	24	24	2073
175	569	Orma	3.50	114	8	24	24	2074
176	574	Orma	3.50	115	8	24	24	2075
177	579	Orma	3.50	116	8	24	24	2076
178	584	Orma	3.50	117	8	24	24	2077
179	589	Orma	3.50	118	8	24	24	2078
180	594	Orma	3.50	119	8	24	24	2079
181	599	Orma	3.50	120	8	24	24	2080
182	604	Orma	3.50	121	8	24	24	2081
183	609	Orma	3.50	122	8	24	24	2082
184	614	Orma	3.50	123	8	24	24	2083
185	619	Orma	3.50	124	8	24	24	2084
186	624	Orma	3.50	125	8	24	24	2085
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191	649	Orma	3.50	130	8	24	24	2090
192	654	Orma	3.50	131	8	24	24	2091
193	659	Orma	3.50	132	8	24	24	2092
194	664	Orma	3.50	133	8	24	24	2093
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196	674	Orma	3.50	135	8	24	24	2095
197	679	Orma	3.50	136	8	24	24	2096
198	684	Orma	3.50	137	8	24	24	2097
199	689	Orma	3.50	138	8	24	24	2098
200	694	Orma	3.50	139	8	24	24	2099
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202	704	Orma	3.50	141	8	24	24	2101
203	709	Orma	3.50	142	8	24	24	2102
204	714	Orma	3.50	143	8	24	24	2103
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208	734	Orma	3.50	147	8	24	24	2107
209	739	Orma	3.50	148	8	24	24	2108
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211	749	Orma	3.50	150	8	24	24	2110
212	754	Orma	3.50	151	8	24	24	2111
213	759	Orma	3.50	152	8	24	24	2112
214	764	Orma	3.50	153	8	24	24	2113
215	769	Orma	3.50	154	8	24	24	2114
216	774	Orma	3.50	155	8	24	24	2115
217	779	Orma	3.50	156	8	24	24	2116
218	784	Orma	3.50	157	8	24	24	2117
219	789	Orma	3.50	158	8	24	24	2118
220	794	Orma	3.50	159	8	24	24	2119
221	799	Orma	3.50	160	8	24	24	2120
222	804	Orma	3.50	161	8	24	24	2121
223	809	Orma	3.50	162	8	24	24	2122
224	814	Orma	3.50	163	8	24	24	2123
225	819	Orma	3.50	164	8	24	24	2124
226	824	Orma	3.50	165	8	24	24	2125
227	829	Orma	3.50	166	8	24	24	2126
228	834	Orma	3.50	167	8	24	24	2127
229	839	Orma	3.50	168	8	24	24	2128
230	844	Orma	3.50	169	8	24	24	2129
231	849	Orma	3.50	170	8	24	24	2130
232	854	Orma	3.50	171	8	24	24	2131
233	859	Orma	3.50	172	8	24	24	2132
234	864	Orma	3.50	173	8	24	24	2133
235	869	Orma	3.50	174	8	24	24	2134
236	874	Orma	3.50	175	8	24	24	2135
237	879	Orma	3.50	176	8	24	24	2136
238	884	Orma	3.50	177	8	24	24	2137
239	889	Orma	3.50	178	8	24	24	2138
240	894	Orma	3.50	179	8	24	24	2139
241	899	Orma	3.50	180	8	24	24	2140
242	904	Orma	3.50	181	8	24	24	2141
243	909	Orma						

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3	3	—	—	2	JohnPd	—	—	—	—	—	Hous
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an end of the night for the same month a year earlier.

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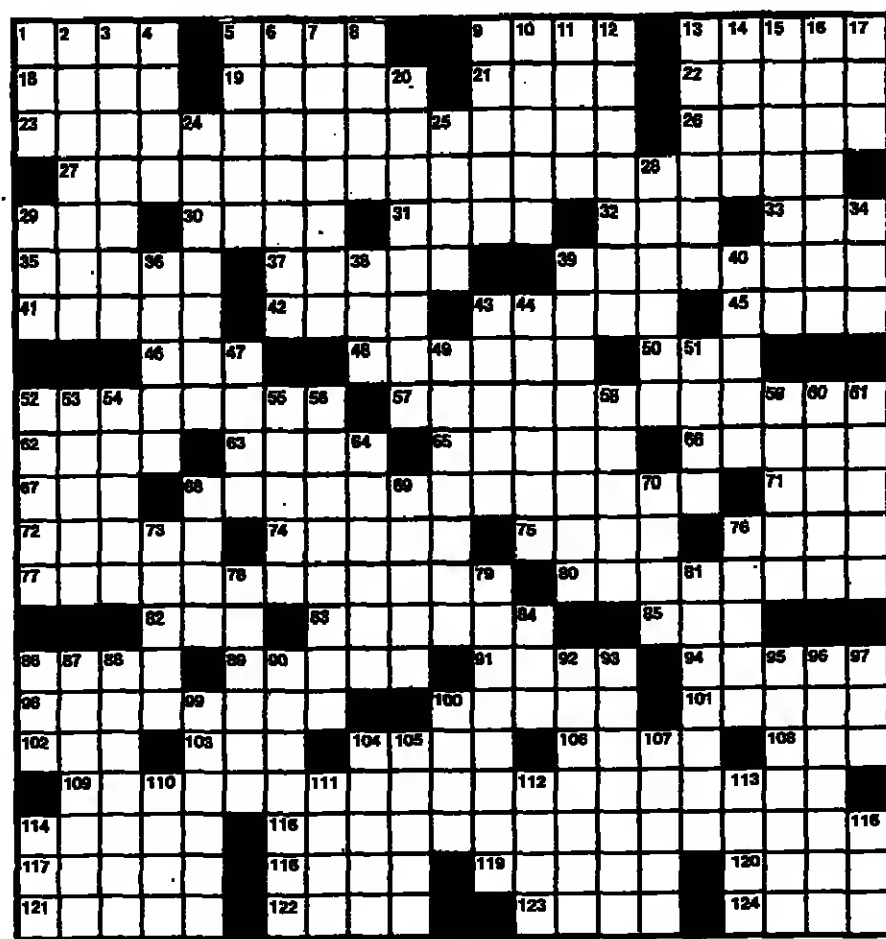






## CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Garden Varieties By A. J. Santora



ACROSS

1 Ball on the ocean

3 Wimbledon winner: 1975

5 Guide

13 Lock

18 Leaping car

19 Appoint as an associate

21 Sickly

22 Great Lakes acronym

23 Growths in the Holland causeways?

26 Osmium, for one

27 What the fastidious farmer minds?

29 Oxford shoe

30 Cottage (house)

31 Arrive

32 Gustav, German physicist

33 Uter

35 Small hooter

37 Gives a boot

39 Disappoints

41 Pilgrimage

42 Outcasts in Osaka

43 "He's making word"

45 Mass. motto

46 Juan Carlos I, e.g.

48 Greenville university

50 Snipetish

52 Clique in a club

57 Inquire into relatives' secrets?

62 Golden shiner

63 Vessels fishing boat

65 Tanning material source

66 Groove

ACROSS

67 Epitaph

68 Peruvian gambling event

71 Cockchafer

72 Singer

73 Ronstadt

74 Inward

75 Actress

76 Rowlands

78 Colada

79 Johnson gets unraveled?

80 Best-planted garden?

82 Teacher's org.

83 Hangover helper

85 Pouch

86 Stralder

88 Makes wine from fruit

91 Labor

94 Saki

96 "Synne" predecessors

100 Soprano

101 Pold

102 Map abbr.

103 Yoko

104 Where Meshed is

106 Groom, in India

108 Card

109 Sports headline?

114 Musician's transition

115 Rabboni goes barn-storming?

117 Part of Albert Hall

118 Particular

119 Mythical beasts

120 Of the dawn

121 Caucasian

122 Sabbath

123 Famed muralist

124 Terrier type

Solution to Last Week's Puzzle

ACROSS

1 BULL

3 TIGER

5 TIGER

13 LOCK

18 JUMP

19 ASSOCIATE

21 SICK

22 GL

23 GROWTHS

26 OSMIUM

27 FARMER

29 OXFORD

30 COTTAGE

31 ARRIVE

32 GUSTAV

33 UTER

35 WHISTLE

37 BOOT

39 DISAPPOINT

41 PILGRIMAGE

42 OS

43 WORD

45 MASS.

46 JUAN CARLOS I

48 GREENVILLE

50 SNIPETISH

52 CLIQUE

57 INQUIRE

62 GOLDEN SHINER

63 VESSEL

65 TANNING

66 GROOVE

DOWN

1 Everyone

2 Bragg

3 The Tyroes, actually

4 Salsas

5 Quaker gray

6 Sound

7 Difficult position

8 Hebrew bushel

9 Season

10 Canine master

11 A Waugh

12 Summaries

13 Site of tomb of

14 Apple variety

15 "Nature" essayist

16 Teeters

17 U.K., e.g.

28 Becomes edgy

29 Given a handicap

30 Insecticide

31 Type of pot

32 Scarf

33 Chemical ending

34 Strange

35 W.W.II fliers

36 Hookups

37 Fine pottery

38 Rusein's capital

39 Enclosed, as a

40 Toy poodle, e.g.

41 Himalayan snowman

42 Nursery rhyme start

51 To live, to live

52 Falcies

53 Rock bottom

54 Fragrance

55 Man's slipper

56 Exceptionally fine

57 Empty

58 "Live Free" (N.H. motto)

59 International club

60 Gold measure

61 Enclosed, as a

62 Gipsy, for one

63 Dutch painter: 1632-83

73 Ate in style

74 Given a unit of weight

75 Shade of brown

76 Without any doubt

77 Thawed cold water on

78 Sticky stuff

79 Skater

80 Bablonia

81 Frat men, at times

82 Shortages in containers

83 Star trekking

84 Conforming to proportion

85 Postpone

86 Dior creation

87 Track

97 A Giant at 18

98 First sight

100 Father of Elizabeth: Numa

104 He wrote "The Wild Duck"

105 French cathedral city

107 Surfer's surface

110 Old Norse poem

111 Information

112 Proverbial

113 Verse—(you are, in Arles)

114 Paulo, Brazil

116 Wind dir.

## WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW		HIGH	LOW
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12
ALBUQUERQUE	26	16	LOS ANGELES	25	12

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

## BOOKS

THOMAS E. DEWEY AND HIS TIMES  
By Richard Norton Smith. 703 pp. \$22.50.

Simon & Schuster, 1230 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020.

Reviewed by Maurice Carroll

TO BE a winner in politics, you should plan to be born at the right time. Then you come of age at a time when the field is not crowded with heavyweights.

It looked as if Thomas E. Dewey would be one of the lucky ones. As district attorney of Manhattan when the city's newspapers were frisky and fascinated with the colorful criminals he was locking up, he won an early and impressive reputation. As governor of New York when his display of executive talent contrasted with the chaos of wartime Washington, he was the perfect Republican alternative to a tiring Democratic administration.

And he was in his 40s, vigorous, successful, smart and tough, when the time came.

But as everyone knows, he was doubly unlucky.

Who realized that the immensely popular Franklin D. Roosevelt, having already broken the precedent begun by George Washington and run for a third term, would, even though old and ill, run for a fourth?

So Dewey twice failed to win the presidency. A commanding political presence in his lifetime he will be among history's footnotes. Schoolchildren will puzzle: What was the name of the man who lost to Roosevelt and Truman?

Crammed with Anecdotes  
Many, including Richard Norton Smith, author of this good — although sloppily edited — biography, think Dewey deserved better. But the relentlessly researched book is crammed with anecdotes that suggest why he probably got just about what he deserved.

There was a motorcade through New York City in which Dewey first annoyed his presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, with a fussy torrent of instructions on how to behave at each stop. Then the governor turned to an aide and asked about lunch.

It had been canceled, the man replied. Dewey asked if the decision had been made at the Commodore Hotel campaign headquarters. Actually, the local party leaders explained, a slip-up had occurred and field organizers had made the decision on their own. Dewey exploded, demanding to know on whose authority such an order had been given and why the original schedule had not been adhered to strictly.

"After five minutes of this, an embarrassed Eisenhower turned and whispered into [Bernard] Shanley's ear, 'Jesus Christ, no wonder he was never elected president.'"

Even as a loser, Dewey is credited by Smith — this is the subtitle of the book — as "maker of the modern Republican Party." That seems a trifle cosmic. It was no longer the party of Robert A. Taft when Dewey left, but it has become the party of Ronald Reagan, and many would measure Taft as the more liberal. Were the Eisenhower years simply an interruption in a continuing anti-government mood among Republicans?

Personally, I found the Dewey view of government and politics attractive, as Smith summarizes a series of lectures Dewey gave at Princeton in 1950.



Thomas E. Dewey

Politically, he dismissed "impractical theorists" who would divide voters ideologically between the parties. "E-crying would be neatly arranged," said Dewey. "The results would be neatly arranged, too. The Republicans would lose every election, and the Democrats would win."

Governmentally, he spoke like the boy who had been brought up in Owosso, Mich., in the first decade of the century. It struck a responsive chord for me. In a little town in New Jersey, reading the turn-of-the-century boys' books stacked in my grandfather's attic — Horatio Alger, of course, the Rover Boys, the Boys of Columbia High — it was possible to get a feel of the independence, the localism, that characterized the small-town America of Dewey's childhood. That was the platform from which he spoke.

Whatever his personal coldness, Dewey's view of what government should do was humane and broad. He expanded Albany's role. But he did it prudently, building a fund in the war-time years, for instance, that left his state in healthy shape for postwar readjustment.

This book is one of a number of good stories that have come out in recent years about politicians who fell short of the absolute but who still mattered. Journalism students are told that it is narrative — lots of action, lots of anecdote — that holds a reader, and Smith offers it liberally.

He also offers it with too frequent lapses into cliché. Why must the newsmen who shouted the headlines about ruckers be "apple-checked"? Why must upstate hamlets be "white-washed"?

And why should a book about a man who was so meticulous about detail be flawed by such careless editing? The Tammany leader Richard Croker gains an "a" and becomes "Croker." The New Jersey Republican Bernard Shanley is rebaptized "Bertrand." Harry O'Donnell, the best political press agent I have ever met, is quoted in the book but left out of the index.

Stuff like that should not happen. But — overall — Dewey is luckier in his biography than he was with the nation's voters. This is an admiring, respectful, readable story.

Maurice Carroll is on the staff of The New York Times.



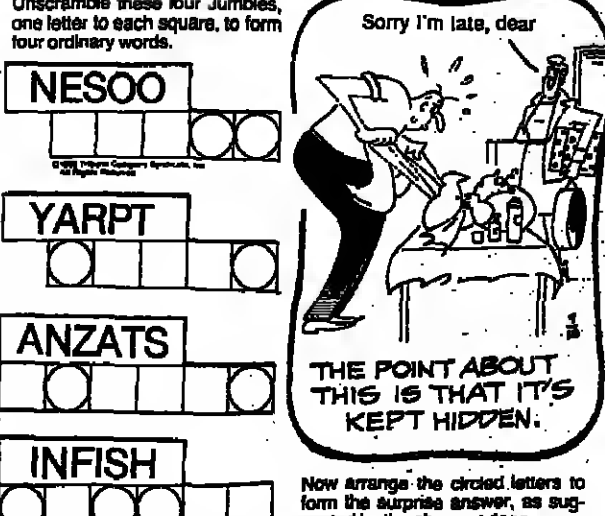
WIZARD OF ID

REX MORGAN

DOONESBURY

## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Answer here: A

Yesterday's Jumbles: TARRY BRIBE INVEST FRIGID

Answer: What the polite horse did when he approached a fence: LET THE RIDER GO FIRST

## DENNIS THE MENACE









